Assembling Audiences

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Abstract

Street performers have to create and manage their own performance events. This makes street performance an ideal type of situation for studying how an audience is assembled and sustained in practice. This thesis uses detailed video-based ethnographic analysis to investigate these processes in street performances in Covent Garden, London. Drawing on the performance literature, the role of the physical structure of the environment, the arrangement of physical objects within the environment and the physical placement of people are all examined. The argument of the thesis is that these analyses alone are insufficient to explain how an audience is established or sustained. Rather, an audience is an ongoing interactional achievement built up through a structured sequence of interactions between performers, passers-by and audience members. Through these interactions performers get people's attention, achieve the recognition that what is going on is a performance, build a collective sense of audience membership, establish moral obligations to each other and the performer, and train the audience how to respond. The interactional principles uncovered in this thesis establish the audience as a social group worthy of studying in its own right, and are in support of a multiparty human-human interaction approach to design for crowds and audiences.

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Chapter 1

From Performance to Audience

In many current forms of performance, from music to theatre to cinema and so on, the dynamics of audiences are difficult to apprehend for the performer, and even more so for the researcher. On the one hand, the darkness into which audiences are often plunged make them difficult to observe. On the other hand, the physical conditions of spectatorship generally enclose audiences and condition the range and degree of response. Nevertheless, understanding audiences and designing for them is an increasingly important concern to many disciplines, from theatre and performance studies to social sciences and human computer interaction. In many forms of modern indoor performance (such as theatre, classical and contemporary dance, classical, contemporary and jazz music performances, amongst others) the audience shares the responsibility for upholding or perpetuating silence, clapping when appropriate, expressing emotions through laughter or silent cries, and so on. Additionally, a great deal of effort is put into framing the activity as performance. The performance is advertised, reviewed and criticised according to the genre it belongs to. Theatre and opera houses belong to a history and tradition of design that manages audience behaviour and controls audience position and movement in space (for further consideration of this see e.g. Carlson (1989/1993); Wiles (2003)). Generally speaking, interaction between the performers in these kinds of events is planned and rehearsed, as is any (scripted) interaction between performer and audience. In the production of a play, such interactions might even be written as part of stage directions (in the form of *asides* for example). Performers and other performance-makers have a certain expectation of 'the audience' and plan the performance accordingly.

But what if the performance is stripped of all the structures that frame it as performance?

In such a case, how do audiences come into being? How do performers enable/facilitate the recognition of their activity as 'performance'? What makes people act as audience members? If the shared responsibility of the audience is not established through a more conventional framework of performance, how do audience members manage to produce the appropriate response at the appropriate moment? What happens when they do not? These are all issues that this thesis aims to explore.

Street performance takes place in an environment that is otherwise an egalitarian and actively shared and negotiated urban site. Very few obvious dramaturgical structures pre-figure the arrival of the performer. The venue is dedicated to other activities. It has no pre-designed stage, no auditorium that clearly indicates to members of the audience where to place themselves. Advertisement for the show is with few exceptions done on the spot to attract people who are present for different purposes. Performers have to, themselves, build a stage and manage the gathering and placement of their audience. They must establish a different power play that enables them to claim space and attention. They must police the performance space constantly to ensure the recognition that other activities typical of the space at other times should be suspended. Above all they must keep their audience engaged and willing to remunerate them for the performance; unlike indoor performances, payment is optional and made at the end of the show. As a result, street performance provides a unique setting to study the processes at play in the construction and sustainment of a performance and in particular of its audience.

How can these transformations be achieved? Interaction is a ubiquitous feature of social gatherings, and, by extension, of live events. People gathering together inevitably come to interact. These interactions do not necessarily take the form of verbal interaction, but include all the subtle, often unconscious, physical negotiations people undertake in order to enable the situation to be intelligible and available as such. Even the absence of actions directed towards each other can constitute an interaction. In the setting of live performance, three types of interaction can be identified: interactions between the performers, interactions between the performers and the audience, and interactions between members of the audience. All three are relevant to the global understanding of audiences.

This thesis is concerned with the interactions of audience members, passers-by and performers during a number of street performances in Covent Garden, London. This video-ethnography seeks to establish how the agents in the interactive activity all contribute to constructing a street

performance which is recognisable by all. Body orientations, gestures, verbal and non-verbal contributions of the participants are all considered possibly relevant to establishing and sustaining the performance.

Street performances are here addressed as a particular type of social situation which takes place in a public space and exemplifies many observations made in the context of everyday encounters. Because they emerge from an ordinary setting —the setting of a public space— the interactions of street performance are, initially, ordinary interactions used as a resource in creating a performative situation. Consequently, the study of street performances requires elements to be borrowed from multiple fields. Gesture studies and conversation analysis are useful tools to understand ordinary social interactions while performance studies help to address the ways in which these interactions constitute a performance. By combing the literature, approaches and methods of these different perspectives, this methodological intervention gives the most accurate understanding of these interactional dynamics.

Recent publications such as McConachie's *Engaging Audiences* (2008), Kennedy's *The Spectator and the Spectacle* (2009) or the 2010 issue of *About Performance* dedicated to "audiencing" are all testimony to the new importance theatre studies and performance studies give to analysing audiences. In addition to these discipline-specific works, a range of multidisciplinary initiatives are emerging. The online journal *Participations: Journal of Audience and Reception Studies*[1] describes its editorial mission as " welcoming contributions from different fields (at the least, all areas of media research, including new media; dramatic and performance; literary; music and dance; museums and heritage; folklore studies; and media and cultural educational practices), and different disciplinary and methodological traditions". Multi-disciplinary projects are being funded such as the recently completed *Watching Dance: Kinesthetic Empathy*[2], that brought together scholars from linguistics, psychology, performance studies and neuroscience, or the 2012-created *Creativeworks London Knowledge Exchange Hub*[3] of which one cluster will focus on "Capturing London's Audiences" with a multi-disciplinary multi-industries focus. Another recent initiative in getting together scholars across disciplines to interact on the topic of audiences was *Ends of Audience: An Interdisciplinary Workshop on Audiences and Interaction*[4] for which the work described in this thesis was an inspiration. This increased activity and output in the emerging field

[1]Participation: http://www.participations.org/index.htm
[2]Watching Dance: http://www.watchingdance.org/index.php
[3]Creativeworks: http://www.qmul.ac.uk/media/news/items/hss/54259.html
[4]Ends of Audience: http://www.dcs.qmul.ac.uk/qmedia/audience/

of 'audience research' testifies to a shift of focus from isolated within-discipline works towards an increasingly multidisciplinary approach.

In line with this multidisciplinary aspect, this thesis informs not only the field of audience research, which is here argued to be an emerging discipline in its own right, but continues to address issues from a range of other disciplines. Within a disciplinary framework of social sciences, this thesis offers a specific case study of social behaviour and interaction. It sets out not only the particular techniques and interactions of Covent Garden street performances, but addresses the general question of how people share the use of public spaces and make sense of the different situations that arise in them.

The advancement and generalisation of interactive technologies poses new interactional challenges. Within the framework of human-computer interaction, especially with an interest in augmented performances and crowd-computer interactions, or the development of computer systems for public spaces and public interactions, this work continues to address questions of what audiences do, how these interactions can be augmented, or what a computer system should be made able to do in order to attract and manage an audience in a public space.

Street performers are specialists in audience engagement and their techniques could potentially be applied, partially or in their totality, to other situations such as teaching, coaching, advertising and management. Event management or communication training are examples of other potential application areas. As a necessarily collaborative research project this thesis contributes to the better understanding and further development of these research areas.

Within a framework of performance studies this work provides a different approach to audience research. The in-depth study of audience interactions during the live event offers empirical evidence and analysis to a largely theoretical field. This thesis has practical value for performers in identifying and evaluating techniques and strategies that have both artistic and financial significance, and highlight how things can be done in general.

Thesis Overview

This thesis is structured around nine chapters, grouped in four conceptual strands. This chapter, Chapter 1, introduces the problems to be addressed by this thesis and foregrounds the main contributions to the disciplines it dwells upon.

Chapters 2 and 3 comprise the literature review. Chapter 2 examines the concept of 'audience'

across a range of disciplines within the Arts and Humanities, including Cultural Studies, Performance Studies and Theatre studies. It reflects on the methods these disciplines use to address the questions of what audiences are and what audiences do, and identifies a common shift towards ethnography. By comparing this body of research with Conversation Analytic studies of audience responses in public speaking situations, Chapter 2 establishes audiences as groups worthy of being studied in themselves and not only for what they enable others to do. From then on, the objective of the thesis is to address how interactional order is developed and maintained during the live event. Chapter 3 aims to provide a case for study and an analytic frame. To that end, spaces in which audiences are commonly placed are examined, with a particular focus on the effects each setting has on the dynamics of audience interactions. Although theories concur on the idea that the physical layout of the audience shapes the interaction, the present work examines a situation in which the physical layout is actively produced. Based on this survey of performance spaces, findings on social interaction are then investigated as tools to inform audience research. Ultimately, Chapter 3 builds a case for studying street performance using multiparty interaction as an analytic frame.

Chapter 4 provides the background necessary to the empirical work of this thesis. It motivates the choice of London's Covent Garden as a place for the study of audience interaction and gives some historical and practical facts about this area and its role in London's entertainment life. Finally, it describes the process of data gathering and explains the type of ethnographic method used in this thesis.

Chapters 5 to 8 constitute the empirical work of the thesis. Each chapter aims to reveal how Covent Garden street performances are constructed by studying additional layers of interaction. Chapter 5 looks at the physical elements of the street space and analyses what effect their presence in space really has on audience members and passers-by. To what extent they help or not build the performance space. Chapter 6 looks at how these physical elements are displayed as elements of the performance, and begins to expose interaction as intrinsic to the construction of performance. Chapter 7 pays closer attention to verbal interactions and shows how street performers discursively establish membership amongst the audience. Chapter 8 focuses on audience responses and shows how street performers train their audience to respond appropriately. The role gesture plays in the synchronisation of audience responses is uncovered.

The final chapter summarises the findings of the thesis and ties them with the multiple fields

they contribute to. Limitations and possible extensions to the work are also discussed.

Chapter 2

Audience Interactions

Interaction is a ubiquitous feature of performance: between the performers, between the performers and the audience, and also between members of the audience. While audiences have been studied from a variety of perspectives, little work has specifically analysed the organisation of audience interaction. The present chapter first reviews research from the fields of cultural studies, theatre studies and performance studies that has focused on audiences as an object of study, to show that the question of how audiences interact has generally been ignored. Secondly, studies of audience responses carried out in the field of Conversation Analysis are considered. These studies constitute the primary field of investigation that this study intersects with, albeit seldom focussed on performance. From these two parallel trends of audience studies, the interactional organisation of audiences in live performance is investigated.

2.1 From Readership to Live Audience

Throughout the literature, the concept of audience includes many different notions such as readers, spectators, listeners, or even the geographically scattered TV-watchers or radio-listeners, without necessarily focusing on their physical co-presence or the live characteristics of the event. The present section focuses on characterising research that theorises what audiences are and what audiences do. The review aims to present trends in audience research and their methodology across a number of intersecting disciplines. Rather than attempting an exhaustive survey it aims to show that while the interactional processes of audiences have generally been ignored in the audience literature (although see Grant, 2007, 2010; Woods, 2012), all these disciplines are

being drawn to ethnography as a method for investigating audiences. This shift is especially relevant for this thesis because it reveals a need to move away from theoretical analysis and/or philosophical considerations of the audience, and towards an empirical understanding of what audiences do during the event.

2.1.1 The Passive Audience

Historically, audience research focuses on the textual content and meaning of a piece. It originates within the field of cultural and mass media studies. Scholars within the field are concerned with the impact mass media (TV, radio, newspapers, etc.) have on audiences. How is the message they provide interpreted ("decoded")? How is this message re-used? Within what social contexts are mass media consumed? More recently, with the development of the Internet as a tool for mass communication, cultural studies research focuses on the relationship and the differences between audiences who are mere receivers and audiences who act as users of a medium (e.g. see Livingstone, 2003).

In the tradition of readership studies and communication theory, researchers initially tried to understand the message conveyed to the audience, that is the effects of its production and its reception. The early stage of cultural studies criticises the social effects of propaganda and mass communication. The Frankfurt School of Social Research (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1944; Horkheimer, 1937/2002; Marcuse, 1962/2002) paints a portrait of a passive audience "injected" with ideologies by the "culture industries". Capitalism is seen as using new technologies and cultural media such as radio, photography and film, to manipulate and pacify the general population. It deprives the working class of its capacity for critical thinking and its revolutionary potential. It lowers their artistic taste and general expectation. It makes them believe in a standardised form of happiness based on consumerism.

This Marxist approach considers audiences as a group whose members are uniformly affected by mass communication. This conception is potentially part of the reason audiences are often broadly considered as a generic object in the literature. This thesis addresses this issue throughout by looking at individual audience members and considering how they collectively create a specific social group.

2.1.2 The Active Audience

Theorists within cultural studies argue that audiences are composed of individuals who actively take part in the selection and consumption of mass media. The uses and gratifications model (Blumler & Katz, 1974; McQuail, 1987) suggests that audience members choose to consume a particular media as it gratifies some of their specific individual needs. Since audience members have different needs, the effect of media on audiences differs for each individual. This model offers a new approach that moves away from the traditional exploration of the audience/text relationship and how the text affects the audience. Instead, the consideration of uses and gratifications encourages theorists to focus on how audiences use the media. Their main methods of investigation take the form of quantitative and qualitative surveys. McQuail (1987) argues that four basic motivations account for most media consumption: information, integration and social interaction, personal identity, and entertainment. The uses and gratifications model acknowledges an active role for the audience in choosing what to consume.

Another active audience approach within cultural studies is reception analysis theory, which situates the mass media audience within a specific social context. Derived from reader-response criticism in literature, it shifts the responsibility of giving meaning to a text from the author to the reader. Reception analysts tend to use qualitative methods to explore the active choices, uses and interpretations made of media materials by their consumers. Morley's *The Nationwide Audience* (1980) study, Radway's *Reading the Romance* (1984) and Ang's *Watching Dallas* (1985) are amongst the most cited studies in audience reception. Using interviews and occasional observations, they carry out psychosocial analyses of how specific social groups integrate the consumption of media into their daily activities, and how their socialisation within a particular family unit affects their experience (and appreciation) of the content. With them, the focus shifts from a semiotic analysis asking about the message contained in the text itself, to a social analysis asking about the meaning of the text as achieved by a particular, contextualised reader. Studies of radio, telephone, television, PC and diverse other media have flourished since then (Livingstone, 2003). These studies offer some ethnographic observations, but empirical data are mainly collected in the form of interviews. Their main contribution is sociological and seeks to position the audience in a broader context. These studies do not ask whether or how this behaviour is performed individually or as a social group. This thesis will address these omissions in its consideration of the audience.

Morley and Brunsdon (1999/2005) focus on television audiences and their consumption and interpretation of the conveyed message. Morley and Brunsdon attempt to "demonstrate some of the relations between socio-demographic factors (such as age, sex, race, class) and differential interpretations of the same programme material" (p.69). In order to do so, they analyse the structure of the text (applying tools from semiotics) and the sociological background of the audience being studied (using interviews). Their research is of particular interest as it challenges the separation of interpersonal communication and mass media communication.

For the purpose of audience research, a study like Morley and Brunsdon (1999/2005) could be developed further. The authors observe for example that men show a preference for factual programmes while women prefer to watch fictions (Morley & Brunsdon, 1999/2005, p.155). Such preferences could feed into studies of social interactions as they are likely to result in negotiations about what programme to watch. For example, this kind of study might be developed in order to help answer research questions about the role that verbal exchanges and gesture play in the negotiation of viewing behaviour and choices.

Within the field of cultural studies, audience response theory brings a sociological perspective on the state of media consumption in today's media-rich environment. However, it fails to account for the question of how audiences practically interact with and/or in presence of media. A salient example is the difference between watching a football game alone in one's sitting room versus in company of a group of friends (see Gerhardt, 2006; Reeves, Sherwood, & Brown, 2010b). The primary difference resides in basic interactional experience, independently of social, historical or gender differences.

2.1.3 The Audience of the Live Event

Originating in theatre studies in the 1960s, a growing interest in active audience participation resulted in the emergence of a new field called performance studies. Theatre studies and performance studies both examine the audience in the specific context of live events, encompassing the historical and architectural influences on audiences. Performance studies, however, discusses the practical activity of the spectator as an embodied agent of the performance, shifting the practical, subjective and philosophical discussion to a focus on the audience.

Framing the theatrical event

Influenced by cultural studies, theatre studies primarily focuses on the impact of the event upon spectators of a particular theatrical event. Likewise, much theoretical research focuses on the construction of the theatrical text, including the ways in which the text and the experience of the spectator influence reasoning, or social and political views. Grant (2010) and Jackson (2010) raise the question of how and when the audience becomes an audience. Does the concept of audience go beyond the ephemeral moment of the event, and is the role of the spectator as "interactor" more important during or after the event itself (Mervant-Roux, 2010)?

Most academic work on theatre audience focuses on how the theatrical text is interpreted. The organisation of interaction amongst the audience is seldom analysed (although see Broth, 2002). Blau's *The Audience* (1980) and Bennett's *Theatre Audiences* (1997) are probably the most referenced books in the field of theatre studies. Both authors discuss the importance of a sense of community within an audience. Like cultural studies, they turn to history and social relationships to explain the building of community. They explore the diachronic or historical background of the interaction rather than its synchronic or current dynamics. What the spectator makes of the event is intimately linked with previous experiences and social and historical context. Little attention is given to the interactional situation of the performance.

Bennett employs a frame analysis in her work on audiences to differentiate between the performance event and its conditions:

> The outer frame contains all those cultural elements which create and inform the theatrical event. The inner frame contains the dramatic production in a particular playing space. The audience's role is carried out within these two frames and, perhaps most importantly, at their point of intersection. (Bennett, 1997, p.139)

This idea of framing the theatrical event with contexts which surround the event, affecting the experience of the spectator, is widespread among theatre scholars. Van Maanen (2004) has a context-based approach that situates the theatrical event in a series of broader frames (communicative, organisational, institutional and societal frames), all linked through the perception systems of both the performers and the audience. The above approaches are speculative rather than based on empirical evidence and partly ignore the specific activities that constitute each event. Audiences are one of many elements that form a theatrical event, which is itself the centre of a larger socio-historic-economic context. By looking at the theatrical event as a specific kind of

social practice, focusing on the practical interactions of audience members and performers, this work begins to address the gap of how a performance is established during the live event.

Mervant-Roux (1998) attempts to break with the tradition of framing the theatrical event. From 1986 to 1994 she carried out field studies in nearly twenty different theatre venues, working with French directors such as Patrice Chéreau or Ariane Mnouchkine, following their staging process, and attending as an audience member during performances. To understand the impact of the physical layout of audiences, Mervant-Roux studies how the position of individual audience members in the auditorium affects their experience of the performance. For instance, she analyses the psychophysiological properties of three different seating positions in the auditorium. She describes a theoretical audience member's experience of physical elements such as the distance from the stage, the lighting, the position within the audience or the comfort of the seat itself (Mervant-Roux, 1998, p.103-109). This auto-ethnographic approach is based on her own experience of sitting (or imagining sitting) in different seats in the auditorium rather than observing the different reactions of audience members in these seats, creating an arguably subjective account of the situation. About the audience's audible responses such as laughter, bravos, applause and silences, she notes the existence of a twofold variation: (a) The pattern of responses changes from one production to another; (b) for the same production significant changes occur from one night to another (Mervant-Roux, 1998, p.163). These observed variations show that audience responses are collectively constructed rather than solely triggered by the performance. Rooted in observation, this qualitative research is a first step towards an ethnography of theatre audience. Nevertheless, Mervant-Roux's primary focus is on how these audience reactions affect the theatrical production, rather than how, through the way they emerge, propagate or differ according to the position of the spectator within the auditorium, they are constitutive of the theatrical event itself.

Experiments in audience participation

There has been a shift towards participatory performance practice since the live art movement emerged in the 1960s. The active implication and involvement of the audience in the performance piece arguably increases the transformative power of the artwork on the audience member. This kind of efficacious performance has been particularly pursued by theatre in education for its educational potential as well as community and political theatre for its capacity to affect social dynamics and cohesion, to raise awareness and to promote a greater degree of free thought and expression.

Theatre of the Oppressed, a kind of applied theatre developed by the Brazilian theatre director Augusto Boal (1979), is an example of a political and educational form of theatre that invites audiences to seek solutions, reflect upon and discuss political oppression. This is done in the form of 'forum theatre'. In forum theatre, a play enacting a specific issue is played a first time in its entire length to the audience. It is then played a second time. At any point, the members of the audience are encouraged to raise their hand, stop the play, come on stage to become a "spect-actor" and take the place of one of the performers in order to propose a different solution. The other performers react to this action, with or without help from the director, who plays the role of moderator. When the act is completed, a discussion is held with the audience about the particular solution that has been proposed. The process is repeated until a solution is found that satisfies either the person who asked for the play, if any, or the audience.

Performance studies, as a discipline, is born out of the collaboration of Richard Schechner and Victor Turner. Turner's anthropological exploration of ritual and ceremonial performances (e.g. see Turner, 1987), and Schechner's idea that performance theory and the social sciences coincide in many areas (Schechner, 1977/2003), led to new ways of thinking about drama and performance, and in particular introduced a new set of empirical methods, including ethnography. Performance studies looks at a broad spectrum of events such as ritual, play, social and political performances, sports, popular entertainment and performing arts, among other performative events. The audience involvement varies across genres of performance, but the spectator is always seen as an active part of the performance. As such, their behaviour can be studied and/or played with. However, performance studies are not directly concerned with the audience as an entity in its own right. Instead, audiences are part of a larger system, that is the system of the performance

Another example of experimenting with audience participation is Schechner's work with The New Orleans Group and The Performance Group (1967-80) that explores the practices of environmental theatre. Environmental theatre is the early form of what is now called site-specific theatre. Throughout his work, Schechner explores the relationships of the actors with and within the space, as well as the impact and participation of the audience in and on the performance. For Schechner, theatrical events cover all sorts of performances ranging from "impure" forms such as public events or demonstrations, to the "purest" form which is orthodox theatre. The first of his "Six Axioms for Environmental Theater" is that "the theatrical event is a set of related transactions" (Schechner, 1994, p.xix). Schechner describes three primary transactions: among performers,

among members of the audience, and between performers and audiences. These transactions are supported by four secondary ones: (a) among production elements (scenery, costumes, lighting, sound, make-up, etc.), (b) between production elements and performers, (c) between production elements and spectators, and (d) between the total production and the space(s) where it takes place. For Schechner, performers and audiences must "interpenetrate". This involves breaking the physical separation of audiences and performers. In traditional western theatre, audiences are confined to a darkened auditorium while performers control and dominate the performance space on a raised stage in the light. In environmental theatre, space is organised so that performer and audience have equal access to it. Performers circulate amid the audience and the use of space is supposedly collaborative. Such design is thought to encourage participation from the audience, however, Schechner gives accounts of many problematic examples his theatre company faced during their productions. Situations where the audience would not participate as required to were common and on a few occasions the audience took over the performance eventually leading to conflicts or the abandonment of the performance.

The work of performance studies, and in particular Schechner's transaction framework, highlight the relevance of interactions in the construction of performance. Nevertheless, the focus is often on the activities that are taking place on stage, and the interpretation of how the audience is responding to them. This thesis shifts its focus away from the stage part of the performance and instead, the activities taking place in the auditorium are analysed.

> I've seen an audience collectively catch its breath, shift position, become very still, change their points of contact and orientation to each other, or to the performers, quite unconsciously, without thought or intention. (Schechner, 1994, p.37)

Although many practitioners and scholars would corroborate Schechner's observation, surprisingly little work has focused on studying these interactions. Taken at face value, Schechner still conceptualises the audience as part of a generic system rather than addressing the fine-grained dynamics of interaction. Note the tell-tale *collectively*; no audience has ever unanimously and at the same time taken a breath in, but this kind of casual description is generally considered satisfactory. Maybe this points to an artist-centric perspective which view the audience as a singularity. Nonetheless, this reveals Schechner's sense that these reactions are all unconscious—or at least unplanned. Schechner notes that audience members and actors feel threatened by direct interactions with one another (Schechner, 1994, p.60). Although he has experimented

extensively with putting them in such situations, the outline of the transaction axioms suggests he is interested in analysing the mechanisms, but was unable to identify this behaviour or produce an empirical study of it. Boal's forum theatre facilitates audience-actor interactions, but again, the ways by which this is achieved have not been studied yet. With the exception of Mervant-Roux (1998), very little interest has been given to understanding what within the audience's actions accounts for the perception practitioners have of their audience during the event (although see Broth, 2002, as discussed in section 2.2.5). Systematic studies are grounded in reception analysis and disregard the dynamics of the process. Attempts to rationalise that process are based on the subjective experience and perceptions of the researcher and lack rigour. As McAuley (1998) puts it, the problem with theatre studies is that they are "product-oriented", that is the observation material serves as "a means of tracking back to find the genesis of key performance decisions," whereas ethnographic studies are "process-oriented" (p.78). However, most studies that claim to take an ethnographic approach rely on pre/post performance collected data (questionnaires, individual or group interviews, etc.) and in that respect, only partially account for the process of the performance. In that sense, they are quasi-ethnographic, and remain product-oriented. The video-ethnography presented in this thesis provides practical evidence of what happens during the process of the performance. In particular it examines the ways in which audience members interact as individual and as a collective, and how these interactions are, or are not, dependent on the performer's actions.

2.2 Conversation Analysis Studies of Audience Responses

Section 2.1 makes the case for an empirical study of the dynamics of interaction in live performance, and in particular interaction within audiences. Some studies in the social sciences, especially in the field of conversation analysis (CA) have looked at specific aspects of audience responses during an event.

2.2.1 Conversation Analysis

Conversation analysts study "naturally occurring social action and interaction" (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984, p.1) such as casual chats among friends, business interactions, patient-doctor consultations, political speeches and so on. Working from the premise that talk makes things happen, they aim to understand how ordinary speakers construct and participate in socially

organised interactions. CA proposes that contributing to discourse is a joint collaborative process. Having a conversation demands that the participants coordinate both on the content of what they say (e.g. sequential coherence) and the process (e.g. turn-taking).

A key point of the methods of CA is the absence of speculation about anything not immediately visible or manifest in the observable conduct of the participants during the interaction. Their data consist of recordings (audio and/or video) of interactions, which are transcribed in detail, where both verbal and non-verbal conduct is reported. These generally include utterances, often reported as they are heard (phonetically), rather than as they would be written (e.g. "wher're you" in example 23 on page 125, instead of "where are you"), intervals and pauses within and between utterances, characteristics of speech delivery, such as stretched sounds, intonation, loudness, audible aspirations and so on (e.g. "people .. left in Po:land", ibid., underlines indicate a louder sound), but can also include applause, gaze direction, or body orientation among others.

Within the CA tradition, a lot of attention has been paid to the sequential coherence of an unfolding interaction. The organisation of turn-taking, repair, adjacency, etc. attempt to spell out the shared methods/devices people use, or the norms people adhere to while engaged in talk. All of these devices require an analysis in terms of the interaction between the speaker and hearer(s) and cannot be otherwise accounted for.

Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) outline the mechanisms for turn-taking in verbal interaction. The most general rule/norm enforced by this system is 'one speaker at a time'. This is empirically supported by the observation that overlaps in talk are quite short in length (though not infrequent). Speaker transition can occur at moments referred to as transition-relevance places (TRP). These occur at the end of turn-constructional-units (TCU), which are instances of various unit types of a language, e.g. phrase, clause, sentence. At the end of any such unit—at the TRPs which are discrete moments in the course of a turn at talk—the following rules apply:

1. If the turn-so-far involves a next speaker selection, on the part of the current speaker, then the selected next speaker has exclusive right to the floor, i.e. he is obliged to speak next.

2. If 1 does not hold, there is free, equal competition for the floor, meaning that all the rest of the speakers can self-select. The one who speaks first wins the floor.

3. If nobody self-selects - 2 does not hold - the speaker may, but is not obliged to continue.

H. H. Clark and Schaefer (1989), drawing on CA, propose that any complete contribution

in dialogue is composed of a presentation phase followed by an acceptance phase, and that any proposition requires some form of acceptance from the interlocutor. Through this accumulation of sequence of action, participants develop a shared context or *common ground*. It is often the case that an acceptance is implicit in an appropriate reaction to the presentation. For a given type of utterance, there is a restricted set of appropriate types of utterance that can be produced as a response. For example, a greeting is followed by a greeting, a question by an answer, an assertion requires an acceptance or rejection. A turn is sequentially implicative, that is a turn projects a response. These sequences are termed adjacency pairs:

> A given sequence will be composed of an utterance that is a first pair part produced by one speaker directly followed by the production by a different speaker, of an utterance which is (a) a second pair part, and (b) is from the first pair type as the first utterance in the sequence is a member of. (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p.296)

Misunderstandings can arise, among other things, as a result of speakers making erroneous presuppositions about what they share (their common ground) with their interlocutor[1]. A characteristic feature of conversation, then, is the work that people to do to resolve such problems. CA extensively analyses how these *repair* phenomena occur. For the purpose of this thesis, only Schegloff et al. (1977) will be considered.

Schegloff et al. (1977) highlights the way in which the repair initiation stage (the signalling of a problem) is distinct from the repair itself, and how both of these can be carried out either by the original speaker (self) of the trouble source turn (TST) or another person (other). He points out the way speakers may foresee a potential, prospective trouble in the interlocutors understanding, and repair the problem by restating or further qualification of part of their turn before the floor was ceded to the interlocutor, thus performing a self-initiated self-repair in the same turn. If, on the other hand, the turn is released by a speaker as complete, the interlocutor now has a chance in the turn immediately following the TST, either to repair the problem herself by correcting some part of the TST (other-repair), or to initiate repair resulting in a meta-communicative insertion sequence ending by the turn containing the repair itself (other-initiated self-repair).

In terms of audience responses, CA studies include—but are not limited to—the analysis of

[1]Strictly, repairs occur independently of 'error' : "The term 'correction' is commonly understood to refer to the replacement of 'error' or 'mistake' by what is 'correct'. The phenomena we are addressing, however, are neither contingent upon error, nor limited to replacement." Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977, p.363)

applause and/or laughter. These studies tend to be drawn predominantly from public speaking and comedy. Each of these have very particular conventions and codifications of audience behaviour and interactions that have some similarity to the form of performance considered in this thesis, but also some differences. Most of them, however, focus on interactions between the performer (or speaker) and the audience and are less concerned with interactions amongst the audience (although see Clayman, 1993, in section 2.2.4). The research reviewed below shows that audience responses occur according to specific rules often comparable to the patterns found in normal conversation. Applause and laughter are arguably the most common forms of responses in performance. A review of the techniques speakers use to elicit these responses is useful to later determine the extent to which they apply to performance.

2.2.2 Applause

Atkinson (1984a, 1984b) pioneered a trend of CA research in audience responses to public speaking. Audiences are restricted to "gross displays of *affiliation* (such as applause, cheers, and laughter) or *disaffiliation* (such as boos, jeers, and heckles)" (Atkinson, 1984b, p.371). Most of these activities can be done in unison preventing what would easily become an "unmonitorable verbal chaos". Applause holds a prime position both in its frequency of occurrence and its capacity to overpower and take over other forms of displays.

In the context of political speeches, applause is given in response to specific rhetorical devices (Atkinson, 1984a, 1984b; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986). For example, speakers often commend, thank or introduce someone prior to *naming* the person, at which point the audience will give applause. Similarly, applause occurs at the end of a *three-part list*, or after two *contrasting items* are enunciated (Atkinson, 1984a, 1984b). *Puzzle-solution* and *headline-punch* are two-part rhetorical devices where the speaker enunciates some form of puzzle/problem or introduction, and it is the subsequent solution he offers or the announcement he makes which triggers applause. Any combination of these devices can be made, resulting in an emphasis of the message. In addition to these tactics, the speaker can seek applause by praising or condemning a state of affairs he just described. This is referred to as *position-taking*. If an audience fails to respond to a message, the speaker may actively *pursue* applause. This consists of reiterating or otherwise drawing attention to what has just been said (Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986).

These specific linguistic acts correspond to completion points in the speech and constitute a form of priming for the audience. Applause is produced at particular moments of the speech,

usually just before or immediately after the speaker has elicited them. The high frequency of applause starting just before the completion points, and the prompt response of speakers in holding the speech during it, attests to a close collaboration between speaker and audience. Additionally, applause seems to be constant in duration; according to Atkinson (1984b), applause lasts between 7 and 9 seconds (except from applause occurring at the end of speeches). Atkinson suggests that the length of the applause is driven by a combination of the audience stopping clapping and the speaker resuming his talk.

Subsequent work shows that rhetoric is not sufficient for inviting applause, and not all applause is invited. Applause can also be affected by the speaker's content (Bull, 2000) and delivery (Bull & Wells, 2002). Delivery includes vocal and non-vocal features such as intonation, timing, gaze and gesture (Bull, 1986). Bull and Wells (2002) note that "when speakers invited applause through rhetorical devices accompanied by appropriate delivery, the audience always produced collective applause" (p.241).

Additionally, Bull and Noordhuizen (2000) point out that applause and speech are not always in synchrony. They identify four types of mismatches: (a) isolated applause (claps by one or two people); (b) delayed applause (at least 1 second delay between the end of the speaker's utterance and the onset of applause); (c) audience applause that interrupts the speaker's utterance outside of a predicted completion point; and (d) the speaker who resumes his speech before the end of the applause, or when the applause is not yet dying.

Bull (2006) proposes to re-conceptualise Atkinson's theory by categorising applause as invited and uninvited. A rhetorical device may be used to invite applause but it also needs to be accompanied by appropriate delivery. Speech content is also an integral part of an applause invitation. Invited applause will generally be synchronous with speech if all the previous conditions are satisfied. Uninvited applause is initiated by the audience. It is typically asynchronous and may occur independently of the presence of rhetorical devices. In the absence of a rhetorical device it can be seen as a response to content. In the presence of a rhetorical device, uninvited applause can result from misinterpreting the speaker.

Wells and Bull (2007) performed a comparative study of affiliative audience responses to political speakers and stand-up comedians. A sample of four televised stand-up comedy routines, six to ten minutes each, were coded on three criteria, as in Bull and Wells (2002). Affiliative audience responses were coded for (a) invitationality (invited or uninvited), (b) rhetoricality

(rhetorical or non rhetorical), and (c) synchrony (synchronous or asynchronous). Affiliative responses included laughter, applause, cheering, whistling, whooping and brief verbal responses. Results showed that:

1. Although invitationality is harder to code, stand-up comedians appear to invite affiliative audience responses in proportions similar to political speakers.

2. Stand-up comedians use rhetorical devices in a similar manner to politicians, but have a larger range of devices. However, the study is inconclusive regarding the proportion of devices used to invite affiliative audience responses. This leads the authors to assert that political speakers and stand-up comedians use rhetoric in different ways.

3. Synchrony is directly comparable between stand-up comedians and political speakers. However, isolated responses are more frequent in stand-up comedy than political speeches, while delayed responses are less frequent. Their sample does not permit any conclusions to be drawn about interruptive responses.

In their discussion, Wells and Bull note that stand-up comedians have more subtle ways to invite a response from the audience than politicians. There is also more variation amongst stand-up comedians than politicians. The authors explain this difference by suggesting "it could be that the more skilled comedians are the ones who are more successful at masking their invitations to respond, or that they do not need to work so hard to elicit affiliative audience responses" (p.338). Note here, that the context of these performances/speeches seems hugely significant and is bound to play an important part in the kinds and range of responses. Wells and Bull conclude their paper as follows:

> For future studies, it is hoped that it will be possible to analyse videotaped observations of the live audiences within stand-up comedy performances alongside simultaneously obtained videotapes of the performances themselves, to more clearly ascertain how different sections of the audience respond (both to the performers and to each other) during stand-up comedy in action in a naturalistic setting. (Wells & Bull, 2007, p.341)

The work reported in this thesis is believed to be one of the first studies of the detailed interactions between members of the audience.

2.2.3 Laughter

Empirical research on laughter as an audience response is less common than on applause. Most research on laughter in group conversations actually focuses on humour, i.e. on the laughable content rather than the action of laughing (e.g. Coates, 2007; Markaki, Merlino, Mondada, & Oloff, 2010; Terrion & Ashforth, 2002). As with applause, laughter as a response to public speaking situations is generally invited by the speaker. For example, management gurus, as studied by Greatbatch and Clark (2002, 2003), do not rely solely on the content of their humorous message to invite audiences to laugh. Instead they use a variety of verbal and non verbal techniques to signal their audience that laughter constitutes an appropriate response. These techniques are rhetorical and are similar to those used by political speakers to invite applause (contrasts, lists, puzzle-solution formats, headline-punchline formats, or a combination of the aforementioned devices, position taking and pursuits). Management gurus also establish the relevance of audience laughter through announcing that they are about to say something humorous, smiling, laughing and using humorous facial expressions, gesture and prosody. Greatbatch and Clark (2002) propose that "in contrast to applause ... shared laughter allows audiences to empathise with speakers without having to unequivocally align with the proposition they express" (p.17). By displaying their affiliation with the gurus' humour through laughter, members of the audience constitute themselves as part of a same group. Allegedly, group laughter contributes to generating social cohesion within the audience. However, the ways through which this group cohesion is exhibited remains open to question.

Not all laughter occurs as an affiliative response to a humourous passage of the speech. In a study of presidential debates, Clayman (1992) focuses on laughter as a display of disaffiliation to the speaker. Unlike occurrences of affiliative laughter, disaffiliative laughter seldom turns into applause, nor follows specific invitation techniques from the speaker. Most occurrences of disaffiliative laughter occur in response to candidates' statements about themselves.

2.2.4 Booing and Heckling

Booing and heckling are often thought of as manifestations of disaffiliation. In public speaking and performance alike, they are rarer forms of audience response. Yet, their presence is often regarded as very disruptive, more disruptive than other forms of audience response. Understanding how they occur within public speaking can inform their appearance within performance.

Clayman (1993) carries out a study of audience booing in response to public speaking. Using prior research on applause as a comparative reference point of analysis, he proposes that booing is a form of collective behaviour that can be analysed along three interrelated lines.

1. Along the line of a rational choice/game theoretic perspective, individual audience members make their decision to respond according to the cost/benefits contingent on the response of others in the audience. They can act independently (in response to the speaker's acts) and somehow manage to coordinate their actions. Alternatively they can monitor each other to achieve a collective response.

2. The methods of CA are used to examine the actual placement of booing within a speech.

3. Applause and booing are examined as displays of affiliation or disaffiliation in a more general structure of social interactions.

Clayman shows that unlike applause, booing generally occurs with a delay between the completion of the item being booed and the booing itself. Booing is generally preceded by other audience responses. These responses can be disaffiliative or affiliative, just as booing can occur in disaffiliation with the speaker, or in affiliation with him but in response, for example, to hostilities he initiated.

Clayman (1993) argues that booing is "not initiated by audience members reacting independently to projectable rhetorical formats. Instead, mutual monitoring appears to play a predominant role in the genesis of booing" (p.117). His theory sets out what may constitute initial evidence of coordination of audience interactions. He proposes that empirically, independent decision-making responses generally begin with a burst, building quickly to a maximum intensity. Such a pattern was already noted by Atkinson (1984b) in relation to laughter. Mutual monitoring responses, by contrast, result in a "staggered" onset, or a chain-reaction effect.

Clayman (1993), along with Heritage and Greatbatch (1986), also suggests that given the typical arrangement of audiences, visual cues are likely to be of minor importance in comparison with aural cues. However, because of the lack of visual data they have of audience interaction, this claim is necessarily speculative. This thesis argues that such a bold claim calls for video-based investigation of audience interactions, including how they orient to each other, and how they respond to the performer's movements. The present work provides a first study of this sort.

In another study of public speaking MacIlvenny (1996) analyses heckling as an audience response at London's Speakers' Corner. He shows that heckling can occur before or after completion of the speaker's message. MacIlvenny argues that the hecklers seek to efface the rhetorical work in progress or to preempt completion by providing an alternative. The placement of post-speaker-completion heckles suggests that, as with applause and booing, heckles can be given in response to rhetorical devices at recognisable completion points in the speech. MacIlvenny claims that heckling constitutes one of many audience responses which demonstrates that an audience is not passive:

> Although audiences in popular public debate may give collective responses, invited or not by the speaker, the temporary local interactions and participation framework distributed within the audience are surely important for the development of "emergent" collective responses, as well as being crucial resources for the charismatic speaker's "feel" for the crowd. (MacIlvenny, 1996, p.57)

Another relevant body of work is Llewellyn (2005) who uses local public meetings to explore how audiences self-organize their participation in public debate. Audience members use techniques such as *buzzing* and heckling as a display of disaffiliation. Buzzing usually corresponds to "audience members engaged in a variety of vocalizations—whispering or talking among themselves, talking, shouting, or jeering at the speaker—simultaneously" (Clayman, 1993, p.117). Llewellyn's research shows that audience members collaborate in their production of verbal response. For example, they are able to collaboratively pursue a response to a question and co-produce an argument or a complaint. The interactional mechanisms through which audience members co-produce synchronised responses are addressed in Chapter 8 of this thesis.

2.2.5 Theatre Audience Interactions

The last study this chapter examines is believed to be the only CA study which specifically studies audience response in the setting of performance. Conversation analysts have studied some of the typical responses given by audiences, such as laughter or applause. However, most of these studies have little interest in artistic performative events. They are mainly concerned with audiences as recipients of a conversation. Hence, they have focused on recordings of political speeches, courts of law or classroom situations.

Using audio and video recordings of theatrical events, Broth (2002, 2011) analyses how theatre

audiences maintain the theatrical situation through managing their own vocal productions such as coughs, throat-clearing and laughter. Broth demonstrates that audience members refrain from making "vocal noise" during the verbal interactions of the actors and instead concentrate the production of these noises around possible completion of the action. Theatre audience's primary contribution is silence[2] and audience members work actively not to disrupt it. However, coughs and throat-clearing tend to augment significantly when the end of a scene approaches and last until the beginning of the next one. Broth (2002, 2011) also suggests that, in this genre of performance, the organisation of turns between actors and audience is stricter than in natural conversation. Audience and actors actively collaborate to preserve the dramatic text during laughable sequences by avoiding overlapping. Audience members typically wait until the end of the laughable sequence to laugh while actors only resume the play once laughter has ceased, especially in the case of collective laughter.

As an ethnography of live performance audience, Broth's thesis is of particular interest. However, his analysis focuses on the vocal productions of audience members, applying the methods of CA, and does not deal with other important aspects of co-presence such as gaze, gesture and body orientation, or the process of assembling an audience. Arguably, these aspects are difficult to capture in a darkened theatre auditorium. It could also be the case that these gestures and behaviours are minimised by the fact of being in the dark, and being in the light amplifies them because they are part of a visible "conversation" or reciprocity of gesture. These issues call for using sophisticated methods of recording and/or investigating other types of performances. This thesis addresses this by studying outdoor performances. Chapters 7 and 8 analyse how performers' verbal invitations of audience responses and their subsequent acceptance or declination are achieved in live performance. In addition to this, and further to previous studies, other interactional aspects such as gesture and body orientation are addressed.

2.3 For an Interactional Study of Audiences

This chapter establishes that the dynamics of audience interactions have been studied only in some specific situations, such as political speeches, stand-up comedy and one theatre audience ethnography. However, a study of empirical data taking into account not just vocal but also

[2]Note that this is a relatively recent convention in historical terms, and probably synchronous with the introduction of darkness that came with powered lighting and the wide-spread of cinema, itself reliant on darkness.

gestural interactions has not previously been carried out. Although many practitioners actively seek audience participation, little attention has been given to understanding the specific gestural and vocal interactions of audiences and the ways these are negotiated individually and collectively.

CA studies of audience response suggest that affiliative responses such as laughter "play an important role with respect to the expression of group cohesion" (Greatbatch & Clark, 2003, p.1517), and that collaboration is established by way of mutual monitoring (Llewellyn, 2005). Clayman (1993) proposes that "given the typical arrangement of audiences ... visual cues probably do not play a major role in the mutual monitoring process ... but aural cues can be exchanged" (p.112). The lack of empirical evidence for these claims calls for further investigation.

Additionally, these studies show that audience behaviours are, in part, specific to the type of event attended. The theatre audiences considered by Broth mainly arrange laughter and silence (Broth, 2002, 2011). For political speeches, on the other hand, applause appears to be the most prominent audience response. The theatre and political speeches are two very different situations both in terms of physical environment and interaction between the performer (in a broad sense) and the audience.

In the course of this review of the research done in this field, key questions that remain unanswered have been identified. Although questions such as what constitutes an audience and how and when groups become audiences have been studied within the disciplines of performance studies and theatre studies, they have been the object of philosophical or subjective considerations. In line with CA studies which seek to provide an answer to the question of how audiences and performers practically interact, this thesis employs a video-ethnographic method of investigation, which is detailed in Chapter 4. However, because of the particular setting and organisation of audiences, and keeping in mind the aim of providing a multi-modal analysis of audience interactions, this thesis first needs to establish how audiences can be studied as social groups, and not just as respondents to a performance. The next chapter briefly surveys the physical environments typical of performance, and how each might influence the dynamics of audience interaction. It then reviews how empirical research of everyday multiparty encounters can usefully be applied to the study of audiences in live performances.

Chapter 3

Configuring Audiences

People act and interact in space. Therefore, there is a fundamental relation between space and interaction. This relation is of prime importance to theatre practitioners and performance studies at large. The work of Schechner, presented in the previous chapter, is an example of recurring attempts at breaking the interactional separation between the audience and the performers by rethinking the physical environment of the performance. However, the reflection on space and how people use, construct and make sense of it, is also central to understanding social situations in general. In this way, space constitutes a bridge between understanding performance as an art practice and performance as a social practice.

This chapter first examines some of the spaces audiences are commonly placed in and how they each affect the dynamics of audience interactions. Although theories concur on the idea that the physical layout of the audience shapes the interaction, there is little empirical evidence to support it. Based on this survey of performance places, it then investigates how findings on social interaction can inform audience research. Ultimately, this chapter builds a case for studying street performance using multiparty interaction as an analytic frame.

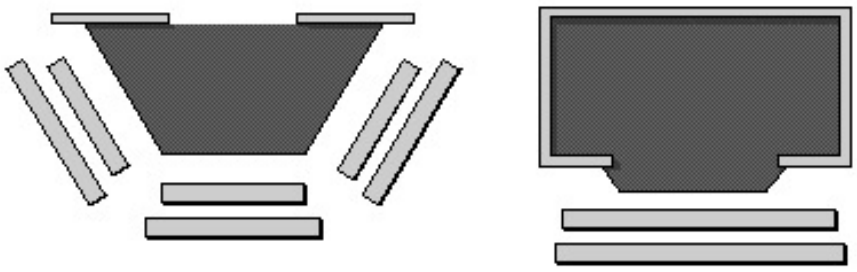
3.1 Performance Space

A look into modern scenography and dramaturgy quickly reveals how central the actor-spectator relationship is. Peter Brook (Brook, 1968), Ariane Mnouchkine (Picon-Vallin & Mnouchkine, 2009) and Jerzy Grotowski (Grotowski, 1968/2002) are some of the well-known artists whose work continually questions and re-designs this relationship, starting with re-thinking the spatial

organisation of the two parties. Understanding audience-performer interactions calls for a look into how space shapes these interactions and/or how these interactions create new spaces. This section investigates the relation between space and interaction in performances.

3.1.1 Spaces Designed for the Purpose of Hosting an Audience

Theatre stage configurations can be categorised as *open stage* at one end, and *proscenium* at the other end, with every possible form in between (American Theatre Planning Board, 1969). Open stage theatre presents the characteristics of a flat stage space surrounded on at least two sides by the audience space. It inherits its structure from ancient Greek theatres and Elizabethan theatres. Its most extreme form is the arena theatre or theatre-in-the-round design where a round stage is fully surrounded by the audience, leaving no space for hidden preparations. The most common form of open stage theatre is the thrust stage theatre where the audience is present on three sides while preserving the forth side as an out-of-sight preparation region.



(a) Thrust stage (b) Proscenium stage

Figure 3.1: Typical layout of (a) a thrust stage and (b) a proscenium stage.

Proscenium theatre originates in the Italian Renaissance. A proscenium arch separates the stage where the actors play from the auditorium where the audience witnesses the action. The arch acts like a picture frame around the performance and emphasises the distance between the audience's reality and the stage's illusion. It often supports a front curtain, which hides the preparation of the set. Additional curtains delimit spaces at the back or on the sides of the stage floor. Behind these curtains, actors can prepare and change themselves before and during the performance. These preparation spaces are referred to as *backstage*.

Wiles (2003) gives an account of performance spaces through history. Examining a sample of theatrical performances larger than traditionally considered in drama studies, he reads these activities as part of a culture and a specific moment in history. These performances shape and are

shaped by the space in which they occur. Wiles identifies seven categories of performance spaces, among which the "cosmic circle" and the "cave" have the characteristics of the open stage and the proscenium respectively. He notes that "a certain logic ... governs theatrical form. Speeches generate frontality, whilst interaction and displays of physical action generate circularity" (Wiles, 2003, p.164).

A common design feature of performance spaces throughout history is shown to force the audience into a position in which their body is oriented towards a common point, usually the performance. However, in a circus-like configuration where the stage is fully surrounded by concentric rows of audience members, the audience is not only facing the performance space, but equally the other side of the audience. The configuration of the stage and the auditorium plays a role not only in the performer-audience interaction but, most importantly, contributes to the social dynamics within the audience. Theatre auditorium designs are often a reflection of the social norms of a particular era. Horseshoe-shaped auditoriums, typically found in Elizabethan playhouses or Italian Renaissance theatres, present a semi-circular shape with overhanging balconies or boxes. Historically, these were built to allow the higher ranked spectators to look down at the crowd gathered in the pit, and maybe more saliently, as a way to be seen from the audience on the opposite balconies. This performative aspect of part of the audience is taken even further in French theatre with the presence of on-stage spectators:

> The convention of sitting on stage was never adopted in Italy, where the circling auditorium gave every box a good view of almost every other box, but in narrow French theatres weak sidelines from the side galleries, and the desire of some men to be more visible, encouraged the custom. (Wiles, 2003, p.222)

Mackintosh (1993) comments that it is not rare for even experienced actors to misjudge the level of crowding of the auditorium. He suggests that actors and audiences gauge the size of an audience based on audience responses, and that theatre auditoriums can give the illusion of being fuller or emptier than they actually are depending on their layouts.

> The illusion of greater capacity had not been confined to the actors. For the audience to laugh rather than to rattle at what was demonstrably a commercially unsuccessful occasion, the theatre must have seemed to them fuller than it was. The reason was that this house has, as many other turn-of-the-century theatres have, four levels of audience with, on this occasion, a few front rows at every level concealing many

> more empty rows behind. For an auditorium to feel fuller than it is is precisely the effect one does not gain in a modern democratic theatre with but one or two levels of slightly curved rows of well-raked seating facing the stage and without side boxes or more galleries. In such modern theatre a three-quarters full house can feel at best half full, at worst half empty. (Mackintosh, 1993, p.128)

According to Mackintosh (1993), curved auditoriums with several levels of galleries give a more intimate feeling than modern build. Although sightlines of the performance are not equal between seats, such configuration is deemed favourable to the theatrical experience. The contemporary focus on equality among members of the audience often results in a fan-shaped auditorium. These auditoriums offer every seat equally good sightline and audibility of the performance, however they create a more frontal positioning of the audience. Once again, this observation corroborate the idea that the position of the audience, the way audience member orient not only to the stage, but more importantly to each other, is an important factor of the interaction.

3.1.2 Public Space Performances

Performances do not always take place in purpose designed theatres or on pre-established stages. Among the performance spaces described in Wiles (2003) many were not originally designed for the purpose of performance. Medieval theatre was often performed in churches while contemporary practitioners frequently look for *found spaces*, that is, non-theatrical spaces where they can create temporary performance spaces. Pageants, carnivals and other processions offer a mobile performance that audiences can either watch from a fixed point (their windows for example) or by following or taking part in it. For the audience member, the experience will be different. The window audience member can watch the totality of the performance come and go. Conversely, the mobile audience member will experience only part of the performance but over a period of time. As well as being mobile performances, parades are usually held in public places, and are therefore, not restricted to a pre-selected audience. More importantly, public performances are held in the presence of people who are neither part of the performance nor the audience, namely passers-by.

Funeral rites and processions, for example, possess performative traits (Bywater, 2007; Cole, 1985; van Gennep, 1977/2004). Both people in the cortège and passers-by are likely to display behaviours that match the social conventions associated with the event. Typical western cortège behaviour has specific codes such as walking in silence or at a slow pace and wearing dark

clothing. This display of affliction affects passers-by's behaviour as drivers are likely to give way to the cortège, and restrain from showing signs of impatience or frustration when stuck behind it. Pedestrians are likely to adopt an austere attitude matching that of the mourners. Ultimately, this coordinated adaptation modifies the environment, creating, for the time of the procession, a particular kind of space. National funerals are the utmost demonstration of this performative characteristic with thousands of people gathering to watch the procession and normal routes being diverted.

Although processions are often held in public spaces, Wiles (2003) distinguishes between processional spaces and public spaces. The former focus on processional theatre for which the space of the city is often organised beforehand and modified for the purpose of the procession. Ornaments might be displayed along the processional route and cars banned from it. Wiles' section on public space, on the other hand, looks at forms of performance held in the middle of civic life, with a particular emphasis on market places. The "*piazza*[*sic*], *plaza* (Spanish) or *place* (French)" inherit their design from the Roman forum and are "the 'place' that matters, the centre of the community, the space for collective performances". Architecturally, their Roman inheritance implies "arcades, a sense of enclosure, and buildings of consistent design and height" (Wiles, 2003, p.107). An example of such design in London is Covent Garden.

Performances held in public spaces have to solve many space-related issues, starting with creating a space dedicated to the performance. Temporary trestle stages can be erected to that purpose. However, in the case of street performances, little physical modification of the space is carried out. Regardless, many noticeable changes to the social use of the space result from the performances. The originally public space is turned into one which access to is more regulated and dedicated to the performance. As shown in Chapter 6, passers-by change their initial course of action to gather and engage into forming an audience. Like funeral processions, the establishment of a street performance generates changes in the behaviour of pedestrians in the area. These changes, explored in detail throughout this work, modify the environment and its spatial organisation.

In an ethnographic study of street performances in New York's Washington Square Park, Harrison-Pepper (1990) comments on the strong link that exists between street performance and the urban environment it takes place in:

> It is nearly impossible . . . to separate street performance from the urban environment,

> for the city exerts a primary influence on both its perception and reception. The shape, texture, and uses of urban space determine behavioral expectations, performance structures, and the theatrical frame. The width of a sidewalk or shade from a tree, the noise surrounding the performance space, the proximity of other performers, the social as well as the atmospheric climates, the civic regulations concerning performance activities—all are part of the street performer's daily, even minute-to-minute negotiations with a fluid and vital urban environment. The setting may even influence an audience's contributions. (Harrison-Pepper, 1990, p.xv)

Harrison-Pepper (1990) describes the different activities that commonly take place in the square and the *territories* they define. She analyses how the overall design of the square and the permanent design features within it support or constrain the different activities. What she terms *public territories* result mainly from permanent design features such as benches, chess tables or a petanque court and support specific activities. *Secondary territories* are used by specific groups rather than for specific activities. *Primary territories* are used almost exclusively by street performers and are "the most controlled areas of the three" (Harrison-Pepper, 1990, p.58). Harrison-Pepper shows that the flow of pedestrians is shaped by the design of the square as much as by the activities that take place within it. For example, most street performers are found in and around a fountain in the centre of the square. Both the layout of the walkways, leading to the central fountain, and the presence of the performers cause most people to pass through this central area at some point in their visit to the square. Arguably, the particular layout of Washington Square and the way people tend to walk through it might be the very reason for performers to chose the fountain area as a space to perform in. Nonetheless, physical constraints on pedestrian traffic flow alone are not sufficient to explain how an audience forms. Chapter 5 attends to the question of how audiences organise themselves spatially.

3.1.3 Social Configuration of Audiences

C. Clark and Pinch (1995) perform an ethnographic study of the techniques market pitchers use to attract a crowd and sell their goods. They report that the first step taken by market pitchers is to *build an edge*. For marker pitchers, the *edge* refers not only to the crowd of shoppers who gather at the stall, but also to the financial advantage that those who do gather a crowd have over those who do not. An edge should be "as tightly packed as the leaves in a hedge" and nearby stall

owners "work individuals off the edge of [an] edge" to increase their own sales (p.6). In order to build their edge, market pitchers solve three issues: (a) getting the first persons to stop at the stall, (b) growing the size of the edge, and (c) managing the people who have gathered. A technique market pitchers use to attract the first persons is referred to as the *pull-up* and "relies on catching people off guard, and getting them to react positively before they fully appreciate what they have done and what they have thus let themselves in for" (p.10). Market pitchers then use those people who have stopped to attract a bigger crowd, eliciting laugher and getting people to raise their hands. At that stage, they also manage the physical organisation of the crowd surrounding them. The main objective is to get people to mover forward, so as to close the gap between the stall and the closest people in the edge, and to commit the people at the back.

C. Clark and Pinch (1995) draw a comparison between the techniques of market pitchers, and those used by street performers to build an audience and sell their performance. According to C. Clark and Pinch, the *pull-up* is almost always the first step for street performers to *build an edge*. Street performers make a noise to make their presence known, announce what the performance will consist of before attempting to persuade individuals to stop and watch. Techniques vary from verbally giving incentives to stay to performing a "particularly impressive acrobatic feat" (C. Clark & Pinch, 1995, p.237).

As Mondada (2009) demonstrates, achievement of a common interaction space is not solely dependant on verbal interaction. In the context of direction seeking in the street, participants engage in intense body activity in order to get strangers to stop and before engaging in any verbal activity. These pre-opening sequences, which serve to establish mutual orientation of body and gaze are necessary for the successful continuation of the interaction. This thesis examines how performers achieve a common interaction space, and the role body and verbal activities have within it.

Another practice evidenced by C. Clark and Pinch (1995) as common to market pitchers and street performers is to use people who have stopped to attract a bigger crowd. A common trick used by street performers is to explicitly ask the crowd to burst into applause on the count of three. The authors give two examples of such requests, however they ignore the fact that in both instances, the performer not only asks the audience for applause, but also for other loud or visible contributions:

> Okay, when I get to "three", I would like everybody in my audience to applaud, shout,

> and cheer, as loud as you possibly can. (C. Clark & Pinch, 1995, p.238)
>
> I count to three. On the count of three everybody standing here bursts into spontaneous applause for absolutely no reason at all. Not only that, the men shout "more, more", women throw their children into the air, everybody gets absolutely crazy. (C. Clark & Pinch, 1995, p.239)

Another step witnessed during the crowd-building process of street performers is the re-organisation of the people who have stopped into a tighter circle. C. Clark and Pinch (1995) make the assumption that by closing up the gaps, street performers try to attract more people; the difficulty experienced by passers-by to see what the crowd is looking at is supposed to entice them to join in. Additionally, this tighter formation prevents passers-by from "straying into the performance area" (p.240).

C. Clark and Pinch show that crowds and audiences are "not simply made up of an isolated set of individuals. To stand in a crowd is to take part in a form of public and social activity with all its attendant shared social norms, benefits, constraints and sanctions." (C. Clark & Pinch, 1995, p.24). However, C. Clark and Pinch (1995) main concern is with the rhetoric of market pitchers' sales techniques, and their observations leave many questions unanswered about how individuals within crowds or audiences interactionally configure themselves. Although their observations of similar techniques in street performers only serve as comparison, they give pointers as to how street performers design their interactions to solve the specific issues they are faced with, in particular the creation of a distinct type of space.

Simpson (2011) examines in more detail the "performative transformation of street spaces into performance places" (p.415) by considering the practices of Bath street performers:

> [The photograph] shows traces of how one performer deliberately marked out his stage in chalk on the pitch outside the Pump Rooms. Such markings serve to define the space as a theatrical one, mark a "tangible boundary on the previously undefined space" (Harrison-Pepper, 1990, p. 126), and so encourage specific behaviors. . . . The drawing out of this "stage" also provides a spectacle that draws attention to the starting of a show. The act of drawing such lines stands out from the background of everyday activities and can provide material for the performer (joking about people walking through their "stage") and creates anticipation among passersby as to what the performer is going to do. (Simpson, 2011, p.421–422)

Put side by side, C. Clark and Pinch (1995) and Simpson (2011) reveal the complexity of creating a street performance space. While C. Clark and Pinch (1995) attribute the physical formation of the street audience to the active management of the performer, Simpson (2011) suggests that the physical materialisation of a boundary on the floor suffices to define a theatrical space and modify behaviours, while highlighting the interactional significance of the act of drawing itself.

Other studies that offer some insight into the social configuration of audiences are found within the discipline of human computer interaction (HCI), especially those that investigate crowd-computer interaction design in public spaces (e.g., Brown, O'Hara, Kindberg, & Williams, 2009; Reeves, Sherwood, & Brown, 2010a). This body of research offers a user-focused approach, and in that regard, informs the behaviour of the audience rather than that of the performer. Although the technical issues and design approaches they take are beyond the scope of this thesis, the interactional obstacles or successes they encounter in getting crowds to engage with large public installations are relevant to a study of audience interaction. Like street performers, designers have to solve the problem of getting the first people to interact with the technology. Rogers and Brignull (2002) identify that fear of social embarrassment constitutes the main barrier to enticing people to interact with technology in front of an audience. In a study of collaborative game play on large urban displays, O'Hara, Glancy, and Robertshaw (2008) found that initiating interaction in the absence of a compère running the game proves to be very difficult.

Brignull and Rogers (2003) identify three zones of interaction or engagement with the system: (a) A zone of *peripheral awareness* were people engage in activities not directly related with the technology and are only peripherally aware of it without knowing much about it; (b) a zone of *focal awareness* were people engage in socialising activities associated with the technology and learn more about it; (c) a zone of *direct interaction* were people directly engaged with the technology. They notice that through time, the presence of people in the direct interaction zone creates what they term a *honey pot effect*; that is, a growing number of people who stand in the zone of focal awareness, orient towards the technology, display their interest towards it, and engage in conversation about it.

These studies suggest that the sight of people engaged in an interaction is a strong factor of attraction for other people, and therefore a potential mechanism for the opportunistic gathering of an audience in public spaces. They also demonstrate, in the context of technology, the important

role of human interaction both to entice the first person to stop, and to grow a larger audience. Studies such as Brignull and Rogers (2003) begin to shed light on the mutual monitoring of audience members and the collaborative nature of audience work, and how they all contribute to creating an audience, and consequently, shape the physical space. This thesis explores these questions in detail in the context of street performances.

More recently, Reeves et al. (2010b) performed a video ethnography of football fan crowds on match day. Their analysis reveals "how crowds seek to maintain membership through synchronisation of activity, but also how crowd support interaction between its members [sic]". They highlight that membership within crowds is produced by members' conduct, not only through sharing common objects (such as common dress, carrying a mascot or wearing a flag), but most importantly though synchronisation of gestural (such as jumping, marching or waves) and aural (such as singing, shouting or yelling) behaviours. In addition to these common activities, the authors also draw attention to the flexibility of crowd participation and the observation that fans involve themselves varying levels of engagement. Crowds are not simplistic homogeneous groups. Fans show differences in their desire to 'blend in' or 'stand out', and individuals attend to "various sub- and super-crowds" at different points, such as fan of the national team or member of a group of friends (Reeves et al., 2010b). In addition to these intra-crowd interaction, Reeves et al. (2010b) note the importance of supporting the interaction between crowd and non-crowd members, in this case opposing fans.

In the context of this thesis, Reeves et al. (2010b) underline the construction of membership as an important aspect of crowds and rightfully highlights the relation such study bears to computer supported cooperative work (CSCW) topics such as the maintenance of mutual awareness and monitoring between people in the workplace (e.g., Heath & Luff, 1992; Luff, Hindmarsh, & Heath, 2000; Whittaker, Frohlich, & Daly-Jones, 1994), in museums (e.g., Fraser et al., 2003; Heath & vom Lehn, 2004; vom Lehn & Heath, 2005; vom Lehn, Heath, & Hindmarsh, 2001) and elsewhere (e.g., Heath & Luff, 2010; Marshall, Morris, Rogers, Kreitmayer, & Davies, 2011; Marshall, Rogers, & Pantidi, 2011; Mondada, 2009).

It may be useful at this point to present some of the core analytic notions characteristic of ethnomethodology or ethnomethodologically-informed studies such as the one listed above as they constitute a strong methodological inspiration to the present work (along with the CA studies presented in 2.2).

Garfinkel (1967/1984) first defines ethnomethodological studies as analysing "everyday activities as members' methods for making those same activities visibly-rational-and-reportable-for-all-practical-purposes, i.e., 'accountable', as organizations of commonplace everyday activities" (Garfinkel, 1967/1984, p.VII). The concept of *accountability* is an important one for the purpose of this thesis, and is to be understood as the essential character of social actions as things that are observed and can be reported on by the participants. To be accountable is to be "available to members as situated practices of looking-and-telling" (Garfinkel, 1967/1984, p.1).

Membership and membership categorisation is another central concept of ethnomethodology, and one that is repeatedly used in this thesis. Membership categorisation analysis addresses social identity understood as an accomplishment of practical action and practical reasoning. In particular it focuses on the recognisability of people as certain sorts of people or, more specifically, people as certain sorts of members of society, and how this recognisability is a resource for members in their dealings with each other (e.g., Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Hester & Eglin, 1997). In ways not dissimilar to Reeves et al. (2010b), this thesis addresses the question of how street audiences sustain membership but also how street performers interactionally construct it.

3.2 Interaction Space

Performances are established not because they occur in a space that has specific physical characteristics such as a raised platform (stage) and a surrounding seating or standing area (auditorium), but because of the interactions that take place on stage, in the auditorium, and between them. Goffman's 1959/1990 dramaturgical metaphor of social interactions helps in articulating this distinction between a strictly physical concept of performance space and a more functional or interactional one.

> A "performance" may be defined as all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants. Taking a particular participant and his performance as a basic point of reference, we may refer to those who contribute the other performances as the audience, observers, or co-participants. (Goffman, 1959/1990, p.26)

According to Goffman (1959/1990), in social encounters, people are actors who manipulate their audience into seeing the particular image they want to convey. As on stage, they use a set of dramaturgical devices such as costumes, settings, non-verbal behaviours and scripts.

Goffman terms this phenomenon *impression management*. Impression management requires the intimate cooperation of more than one participant and results in a fragile equilibrium that can be compromised if one of the participants follows a goal different from that of the others. Goffman proposes to treat an interaction as a dialogue between two teams that he would conveniently call the performers and the audience.

> A team is a grouping, but it is a grouping not in relation to a social structure or social organization but rather in relation to an interaction or series of interactions in which the relevant definition of the situation is maintained. (Goffman, 1959/1990, p.108)

This section offers to discuss the specific interactional configurations that can make this "social performance" work and investigates the mechanisms through which people achieve the recognition that a specific situation is going on.

Central to Goffman's definition of performance is the relationship established between the team of performers and that of the audience. A tacit agreement is usually maintained between the two teams to keep the performance going in case of failure. For example, if the performer stutters, the audience will usually pretend not to notice.

To analyse interactions, Goffman distinguishes three regions (or stages) which are areas where people have different roles and different knowledge of the performance being acted out. *The front region* is the space where the performance is presented. This is a shared space to which the performers and the audience both have legitimate access. In the front region, performers are under constant scrutiny from the audience even when not addressing them. Their actions are designed to maintain certain standards. Goffman refers to standards of how performers engage with the audience as *politeness*, and to standards of how performers comport themselves when in visual or aural range from the audience as *decorum*.

The *back region* or *backstage* is the space where all the support activities necessary for maintaining the performance in the front region go on. Intrusion from the audience should not occur in this space. It does not have to be hidden from their eyes, but must be granted a specific status. In this region, performers can step out of character without compromising the performance. However, they still have to put up a different show, that is, being a loyal teammate.

The last region Goffman proposes is the *outside region*, comprising all that is happening outside the two previous regions. The performance, as designed, is not intended for those who are in the outside region even though they may be aware of it. When an outsider intrudes into the

performance the performer is faced with a problem of impression management since the outsider is not supposed to see him in this role. The performer has two principal techniques at his disposal to regain control of the front region. He can ally with his audience, granting them temporary backstage status in order to create a performance suited to the newcomer. Or he can welcome the newcomer exaggeratedly as if he should have been part of the performance all along.

Reflecting back on the physical setting of indoor performance places presented in section 3.1.1, Goffman's regions can be directly mapped out to the physical setting of the theatre. However, Goffman's metaphor is useful not only to analyse actor-audience interactions, but more importantly to understand audience-audience interactions. The spectators on stage or in the boxes are part of the audience from the viewpoint of the actors. However, at the same time, they are sustaining their role as aristocratic members. Goffman claims that while being audience to the actors, these specific audience members are putting up their own performance as aristocrats. Wiles's 2003 citation of Georges Banu provides an illustration of this point:

> The box is a stage. The stage of a woman. Leaning on the balustrade ... she gives herself over to that most difficult thing to perform, namely presence. There may be no lack of speech inside the box, yet, facing outward she performs with no support save gesture and costume. (George Barnu, as cited in Wiles, 2003, p.223)

Although Goffman acknowledges that audience members of the interaction present a team-performance, he is not very specific about it. Would Goffman's analogy go as far as to propose that audience members as a group, or as individuals, are also performing 'audienceness'? In the aristocratic audience member scenario, this appears to be the case since they will perform specific behaviours which demonstrate their interest or lack of interest in the performance to the actors but also to the other members of the audience. Goffman's dramaturgical framework reveals that the physical organisation of the space is insufficient to explain how audiences are configured interactionally. A different type of organisation of the performance space, one that takes into account the functional mapping of the space is therefore required.

3.2.1 Participation Framework

In multiparty interactions, the speaker-hearer model used in face-to-face conversation is inadequate. The hearers have different status and roles in respect to the person who is holding the floor. Not all hearers are addressed nor ratified. Among the unratified hearers, or *by-standers*, Goffman (1981)

distinguishes between *overhearers* (unintentional by-standers) and *eavesdroppers* (intentional by-standers). Similarly, among the ratified participants, not all of them may be addressed at a specific moment.

In the participation framework, the roles of each participant are dynamically constructed by the speaker's utterance or through gaze, posture, gesture, or the use of someone's name. Shifts in *footing* allow the speaker to manage the different frames of participation and the different roles among the participants of the interaction. For Goffman, footing is the positioning or the alignment that an individual takes within an interaction. During the course of an interaction, a same speaker is likely to position himself differently according to the role he is taking or the people he is addressing resulting in a shift in footing.

Role management and shifts in footing exist in orthodox theatre when the actors address the audience in an aside, changing their status from eavesdroppers to ratified participants. In such settings, the space acts as a first layer of management by delimiting strong boundaries between the outside and the performance, and between front stage and backstage. In more public areas, as is the case in street performances, this management becomes more challenging since the performer has to manage his performance to the audience while regulating his performance space which can be disrupted at any point by passers-by.

Analysing street performance in terms of footing can help address the question of how performers manage to establish a performance space that is acknowledged by all and where audience members and passers-by are distinct groups who behave differently. How they manage, without the support of a physically distinct backstage and stage spaces, to make visible to the audience that they are preparing for the show or performing it.

3.2.2 Interactional Management of Space

In theatrical design, circularity appears to be a means to stimulate interaction. While theatre architects argue about the "ideal" layout of the auditorium, discussions of street performance generally assume that street audiences assemble in a circle-like formation. To a certain extent, circularity is a natural shape for multiparty interactions. In social encounters, people often group themselves into set patterns. Kendon (1990) terms an *F-formation* (Figure 3.2) the pattern that "arises whenever two or more people sustain a spatial and orientational relationship in which the space between them is one to which they have equal, direct and exclusive access" (p.209). This type of formation emerges, for example, in free-standing conversational groups and are

constructed to sustain a particular kind of interactional activity, one that Kendon describes as "talk-mediated jointly focused interaction" (Kendon, 2010, p.8). F-formations have the capacity to draw a separation between the interaction itself and what is occurring outside of it, while focusing the attention of the participant on the interactional situation.

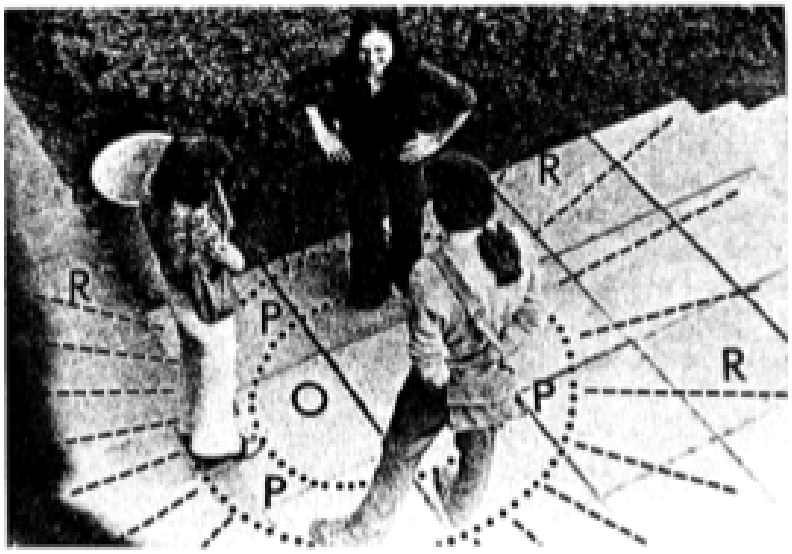


Figure 3.2: The F-formation (after Kendon, 1990).

The central part of the interaction, the *o-space*, is a space of focus attention to which all participants have equal access. People who are not part of the interaction acknowledge its privileged status by avoiding crossing it. If they must do, they tend to duck or moderate their intrusion. The formation is dynamically maintained by the participants standing in the *p-space*. They constantly rearrange their physical position and orientation. If a new participant enters the formation, or if another leaves it, the arrangement will be modified in consequence, ensuring equal access to the o-space. Beyond the p-space, Kendon (1990) defines *r-space*, an area of influence of the F-formation, of which the boundaries are ill-defined, but in which outsiders show specific behaviours. People who are just in the vicinity of the F-formation, tend to avoid this area, while those looking to join the interaction tend to stand in it, waiting to be invited in the p-space.

In spaces shared by multiple groups of people, such as public spaces, F-formations can help identify groups of familiar individuals and/or interactional groups. F-formations space themselves by taking into account each-other's r-space (Figure 3.3).

The type of circular F-formation described so far commonly arises when what is at issue for the participants if between them. When the focus of the interaction is outside of their immediate environment, different organisations arise. Among these particular types of F-formations, some

Figure 3.3: Spacing between adjacent F-formations (after Kendon, 2010).

are of particular interest to this thesis. The *side-by-side* (Figure 3.4) and *hoseshoe* (Figure 3.5) arrangements arise in situations where participants attend together to an external event while still preserving a equal right of participation. Kendon (2010) takes the examples of people looking at an animal in a zoo or watching a baseball game together as illustrations of such F-formations.

Figure 3.4: Pairs of people in *side-by-side* F-formations watching a baseball game (after Kendon, 2010).

Kendon (2010) notes that in many encounters participants do not have equal right of participation and that this is reflected in the spatial-orientational arrangement of the participants. A salient example of such encounters can be found in audience-performers situations. Kendon terms these F-formations *common-focus* gatherings (Figure 3.6).

Many of the performance spaces discussed above share characteristics of F-formations. If we consider the interaction around the technology as one big F-formation, the zones described by Brignull and Rogers (2003) around technological installation for example map to Kendon's spaces. If technology is considered the focus of attention in this case, according to Kendon it can be placed as or in the o-space. Brignul's zone of direct interaction can be represented by the

Figure 3.5: A *horseshoe* F-formation that can result when participants in side-by-side with more than two members wish to exchange spoken utterances (after Kendon, 2010).

Figure 3.6: A *common-focus* F-formation typical of situations where there is a division of role between performer and audience (after Kendon, 2010).

p-space, while the people waiting to interact with the technology wait in the focal awareness zone or r-space. We can also look at the multiplicity of adjacent F-formations that arises in Brignull and Rogers's analysis, in which case it appears as a layering of side-by-side/horseshoe F-formations in the zone of focal awareness with a more focused/circular F-formation in the zone of direct interaction.

C. Clark and Pinch's 1995 description of building an edge also attests of a sensitivity to the orientation of others. The difficulty market pitchers and street performers face in getting the first people to watch could be explained by the absence, early on, of a focused space of interaction.

Looking at it in Kendon's terms, the creation of a p-space could be what facilitates the engagement of those standing around it, and in particular those standing in the r-space. This in turns also provides an interactional explanation for Brignull and Rogers's honey-pot effect.

Participants use specific orientation of the different segments of their body to maintain F-formations (Kendon, 1990; Scheflen, 1976; Schegloff, 1998). Body torque is the "divergent orientations of the body sectors above and below the neck and waist, respectively" (Schegloff, 1998, p.536). These postural configurations are displays of engagement towards multiple courses of action. Torque occurs when the upper body orientation, usually led by the eyes, followed by the head, and eventually the shoulders, deviates from the lower body orientation, starting from the feet up to the hips. This orientation of the upper body indicates that a side activity is being inserted in, or is interrupting, the main activity in which the individual is already engaged.

Kendon (1990) and Schegloff (1998) claim that the lower part of the body is generally oriented towards the main activity while the upper part of the body can be orientated towards lower priority activities. Body torque is an unstable posture of the body and is prone to re-alignment. Body torque defines a ranking of the engagement in the different activities and resolves in two ways: (a) The upper body re-aligns with the lower body, which indicates the ranking of the activities does not change; (b) the lower body orientation shifts to align with the upper body orientation, displaying a re-ranking of priorities. The activity that was previously considered as a side activity becomes the primary course of action. However, Battersby and Healey (2010) show that, in multiparty interactions, torque can also reveal engagement of equal importance to multiple activities. These simultaneous engagements occur for example when a speaker engages with one participant through hand gesture while directing his gaze to another participant.

A market pitcher's comment in C. Clark and Pinch (1995) illustrates how behaviours such as body torques can be usefully applied to the kinds of mass co-present interactions involved in street performance:

> When I'm looking down at the edge I look at feet. And if I see any that are pointing away from me it bugs me. I'd rather they pissed off immediately because I know they're gonna do it eventually. (C. Clark & Pinch, 1995, p.20)

This thesis proposes that interaction configures performance space and explores the dynamics of street performances from the perspective of social interactions.

3.3 Configuring Street Audiences

An interactional study of audiences in live performance requires a corpus that offers visible evidence of audience-performer interaction as well as audience-audience interaction. Unlike most forms of indoor performances, street performances offer a setting where the entire performance process can be witnessed over a short period of time. Constructing a stage, gathering a crowd, building an audience, managing participation and eliciting payment are all part of the performance itself. Furthermore, audience members are prima facie less constrained by the typical norms of indoor audiences, exposing some of the ways that these problems are solved.

Unlike political forms of street art, street performance has seldom been studied. A few ethnographic works based on observation, pictures and interviews of the performers have looked at American street performances. Campbell (1981) surveys street performance spots across the United States and presents a number of performers ordering them by genre such as musicians, jugglers, magicians, etc. Harrison-Pepper (1990) focuses on Washington Square Park in New York City, and analyses how performers negotiate ownership of the different pitches in the square. Tanenbaum (1995) focuses on the political significance of the presence of musicians in New York's subway. These collective portraits of the activity give valuable analyses of its sociological implications. However, they do not provide a satisfying answer to how performers and audiences construct and sustain the performance.

More recently, human geographers have investigated the place of street performance in the urban environment of English cities. Simpson (2008) undertakes a Lefebvrian "rhythmanalysis" of Covent Garden's street performances. He describes street performances as an "ecology" where the *linear rhythms* of the "temporal prescriptions placed on performances in Covent Garden, ... and the natural temporalities of bodies (performers and audiences)" are in close relationship with the *cyclical rhythms* of "the outdoor environment (sun, rain and day), and the performances themselves" (p.807). Using a research-diary to note down his observations, Simpson provides detailed accounts of how external elements such as weather conditions impact the sequence of events. However, the level of analysis of how these elements may change the level of audience engagement for instance is limited. Simpson (2012) presents a similar analysis of one of Bath's performance spots, this time using time-lapse photography as a method.

Among the ethnographic works on street performances presented here, Simpson's work reports the most detailed level of interaction. The validity of his observation is not here questioned, but

they lack to serve the present purpose of understanding the specifics of the social construction of street performance. Simpson's observations focus on the performer's actions and intentions. For example, in Simpson (2011) (see section 3.1.3) the question of whether or not the chalk-marking of a stage on the floor does produce the intended response from the passers-by and the audience is ignored. The activity of drawing the line and the subsequent presence of the line on the floor are merged in one event of same significance. This thesis explores the interactional significance, for the audience, of the performer's objects (the line on the floor), actions (drawing the line on the floor) and interactions (managing the physical placement of people).

C. Clark and Pinch's 1995 findings and methods relate most to the work of this thesis. Their observations of market pitchers and the comparison they draw with street performers are a great inspiration to the present work. After examining how market pitchers and street performers build an edge (see section 3.1.3), C. Clark and Pinch describe the techniques they use to elicit payment. In the case of street performers, they argue that eliciting collective responses such as laughter and applause contributes to building a feeling of obligation in the audience. They describe this collective obligation as "vague" (p.244) and argue that performers use individual contacts with audience members as a means to enhance that feeling, getting individuals to volunteer as on-stage assistants being the most obvious technique. However, because this can only be done with a limited number of people, performers also make "explicit verbal contacts" (p.245). These contacts can take several forms, such as singling out individuals with particular laughter, making humourous comments about a passer-by, or asking audience members for their name. Based on their video data, the people whom the performer makes contact with are "far more likely to pay at the end of the performance" (p.247).

C. Clark and Pinch (1995) also identify explicit mentions of money or payment as contributing to building an obligation to pay. These can take the form of "casual and often humorous asides" (pp.248–249) or be designed to create guilt or pity in the audience. It is also common for performers to specify the appropriate level of payment and to point out and ridicule those who leave during the show without making a contribution. Finally, C. Clark and Pinch mention that some performers outside the Pompidou Centre in Paris, when the crowd gets too big to be manageable, do not bother making direct contact with individuals. They simply send assistants to pass round a hat for money while they perform. Others ask for a contribution as a guarantee before actually performing their feats, such as a performer addressing his audience in the following

example:

> There's about three hundred people around me. Three hundred people. I'm going to ask twenty persons. Twenty persons to recognize that the show is for your greatest pleasure. We need a small guarantee because if I cut myself I'd have to go to the hospital and they'll ask me for money, So to those twenty people, I'm going to ask you to put down right there a ten-franc coin. (C. Clark & Pinch, 1995, p.258)

C. Clark and Pinch (1995) study supports the argument that street performance require a mixture of ordinary conversational interactions and formal dramatic ones. This thesis explores how ordinary conversational devices are used as a resource to create a dramatic event. Drawing on findings of interactions in multiparty encounters, this thesis undertakes, what is believed to be, the first in-depth study of audiences that have not self-selected themselves by buying a ticket.

It is commonly accepted that the shape of the audience area impacts the theatrical experience. It has been argued that a circular shape is more natural than a frontal one. Although Kendon (1990) helps to understand how this might be the case, there is no empirical evidence to support this claim. This thesis argues that considerations of space are insufficient to explain how an audience forms. It aims to explore the interactional significance of a number of factors including spatial and architectural features, but more importantly, displays of performativity and social interaction.

Street performances offer a rich interactional setting in which performers have to deal, not only with their performance and the audience's response to it, but also with the management of their surroundings, from space and weather constraints to disruptive passers-by. The physical and functional maps of space leave many questions unanswered about how audiences are configured interactionally. Findings of how people spatially and socially organise themselves, such as those of Kendon (1990) and Schegloff (1998), provide the tools that can be applied to establish how performances are created in public spaces. The novel methodological intervention presented in this thesis proposes to address specific issues of audience interactions. What in the performers' actions specifically enables the recognition of performativity? How do passers-by display their recognition of it? How do audiences gather? When does a generic crowd become a specific audience? How is a performance place clearly identified in the middle of a public space? How are disruptions of the space and the performance managed? The present work explores these questions by studying the dynamics of street performances from the perspective of social interaction.

Chapter 4

The Setting:

"Welcome to sunny Covent Garden!"

—Sham—

Street performers work in an environment that is not configured for performance. The venue is dedicated to other activities; it has no pre-designed stage, no auditorium that clearly indicates to members of the audience where to place themselves. Advertisement for a specific show is, with few exceptions, done on the spot to attract people who are generally present for different purposes. The performer has to build himself a stage and manage the gathering and placement of his audience, and in doing so, he must make his actions recognisable as the pre-cursors to a performance and not, for example, just an anomalous behaviour. How can a study revealing the social practices of street performers be designed? What are the most appropriate settings and methods? This chapter explains the choice of a video-informed ethnography of Covent Garden street performances.

4.1 Covent Garden Street Performances

4.1.1 A Note on Terminology

Street show, *street entertainment*, *street performance*, and *street theatre* are terms which are often used interchangeably. They describe a form of outdoor live event which involves one or several people (the performers) who perform actions designed to attract financial recompense from the

surrounding crowd. The idea of recompense is crucial to distinguish from the action of begging. Beggar's actions aim at attracting money and other forms of goods, yet these contribution are alms rather than recompense.

Each of the above items describes a particular aspect of street work. The term street show refers to the visual aspects of the event. Street shows are usually designed to be seen from afar, be spectacular and to attract the largest number of people. The term street entertainment refers to the fact that the event must be amusing or provide enjoyment in order to attract recompense; while the term street theatre refers to the enactment of drama, a definition of which can be found in Green (1978):

> [D]rama should be regarded as a performance incorporating mimesis and role distribution among two or more players. . . . Performance in the present sense is intended to designate more than mere role-playing. Performance specifies the self-conscious staging of activity before [an audience]. (Green, 1978, p.849)

Here, *mimesis* is to be understood as the abandonment of ordinary personal identities in favour of a fictitious or scripted identity. Note that mimesis differs from Goffman's layering of identities or roles by the fact that the impersonated character is not a persona of the player. It is not the performer as himself in a different role or frame. The persona taken by the player has no reality outside the stage (see Goffman, 1974, p.128-129).

The third term, street performance, is more all encompassing. It focuses on the display of actions in front of an audience. It seems less restrictive than street theatre since it does not presuppose any mimesis, although performers may use mimesis along with other dramatic techniques. Unlike street show and street entertainment, the term street performance does not carry such connotation as spectacular or mediated, and does not imply any judgement over the artistic quality of the event.

Throughout this thesis the term street performance is preferred. To refer to a specific instance of a performance, the term street show is used, with the aim to emphasize the way actions are displayed rather than the way they are designed. The philosophical discussion of whether or not street performances constitute a form of art is beyond the scope of this thesis. Street performances are hereby considered as artistic forms of performance only to differentiate them from situations such as lectures or political speeches.

4.1.2 London Street Performances

Audiences are found in many different settings, such as live events, museums or as consumers of media products. A key claim of this thesis is that performers assemble and manage the audience themselves. Street performance is a situation in which this is made manifest. Musicians, living statues, jugglers and other circus artists perform in many places in London: close to historical monuments, museums, and other tourist attractions such as the London Eye; in busy shopping places like Carnaby and Oxford streets; and in the Underground where specific performance zones are painted on the floor. Each spot has it particularities.

In the Underground corridors, the constant flow of travellers calls for performances that can be appreciated without stopping. Musicians end up dominating the underground scene as their performance can be heard before they are actually in sight. Travellers rarely stop to listen, they enjoy the music as they walk and donate on the go. South Bank, the south riverside of the River Thames between Westminster Bridge and Blackfriars Bridge, is an area filled with tourists and Londoners alike. Street performers are numerous on weekends with a majority of living-statue and juggling acts. Although performers often play music and interact with the audience, they seldom speak throughout the show. For short periods of time, scattered groups and individuals may stop and watch. Active audience management is rarely seen. In Trafalgar Square, performances range from music and dance to circus-like acts. Circus-like acts in particular tend to have a clear beginning and a clear end. A crowd gathers around the performer and is sustained for the duration of the performance. Audiences form and dissolve in specific patterns rather than being a more or less constant flow. Although not prominent nor systematic, some form of audience management can be observed. For instance, when performing as a group, dancers often take turns; while one dances, the others elicit audience responses through rhythmic clapping and other hand gestures.

Many elements shape a street performance: the spatial features of the place, its social use, the type of act performed, and the way audiences gather and interact. The question of which factors influence which can only be answered through a detailed study and comparison of the numerous street performance spaces. This is an enormous task, far beyond the scope of a single thesis. This thesis examines the ways in which these factors interact in one particular setting, that is, Covent Garden.

4.1.3 Covent Garden

Covent Garden is part of the London borough of Westminster, located north of the Thames river in the heart of historical London's West End. Known as "one of London liveliest areas" (Williams, 2007, p.98), its shops and cafés attract Londoners and tourists alike. Along with nearby Soho, it is a popular area for entertainment, counting more than forty theatre venues within a half mile radius. Although street entertainment is mentioned as a worthwhile activity in many tourist guides, it is unclear whether or not street performances constitute a primary motive for newcomers to visit Covent Garden. Nevertheless this form of entertainment definitely contributes to the vibrant atmosphere often described.

Designed by British architect Indigo Jones in the 17th century, Covent Garden is an Italian-inspired square. Originally, the piazza was "a generous open space bounded on the north and east by terraced houses, on the west by [St Paul's] church and two attendant houses and on the south by the wall of [the Earl of Bedford's] own private garden"(Thorne, 1980, p.5). Even though a covered market building was long since erected in the middle of the piazza, the church remains, with its portico dominating what is now the West Piazza, and constitutes the background to the street performance life. The portico was never used as an entrance to the church, because during its construction, traditionalists objected to a west-facing altar. It is believed to have hosted the first Italian puppet show in England (ancestor to the Punch and Judy shows) and still remains a privileged location for street performances. "The importance of street theatre in Covent Garden owes much to the architectural particularity of the site"; the portico of St Paul's "without a function has proved a natural stage set, offering both visual and acoustical support to the performers standing in front of the columns" (Wiles, 2003, p.128).

There are three pedestrian areas commonly used by street performers in Covent Garden: the Covent Garden market building, the Piazza (West and East), and James Street (see Figure 4.1). Westminster City Council allows performances in the south section of James Street, with a maximum of five performances at a time, and up to two simultaneous performances on the East Piazza. All these pitches (a pitch is a term commonly used to refer to the place where a street performance occurs) are subjected to noise and music restriction rules, should not exceed 1.5 metres in diameter and are forbidden to *circle performances*. Circle performances are defined by the Council as shows "in which a crowd is encouraged to gather around, rather than view the performance in passing" (Clarkson, 2006, p.3). In reality, these guidelines are not always

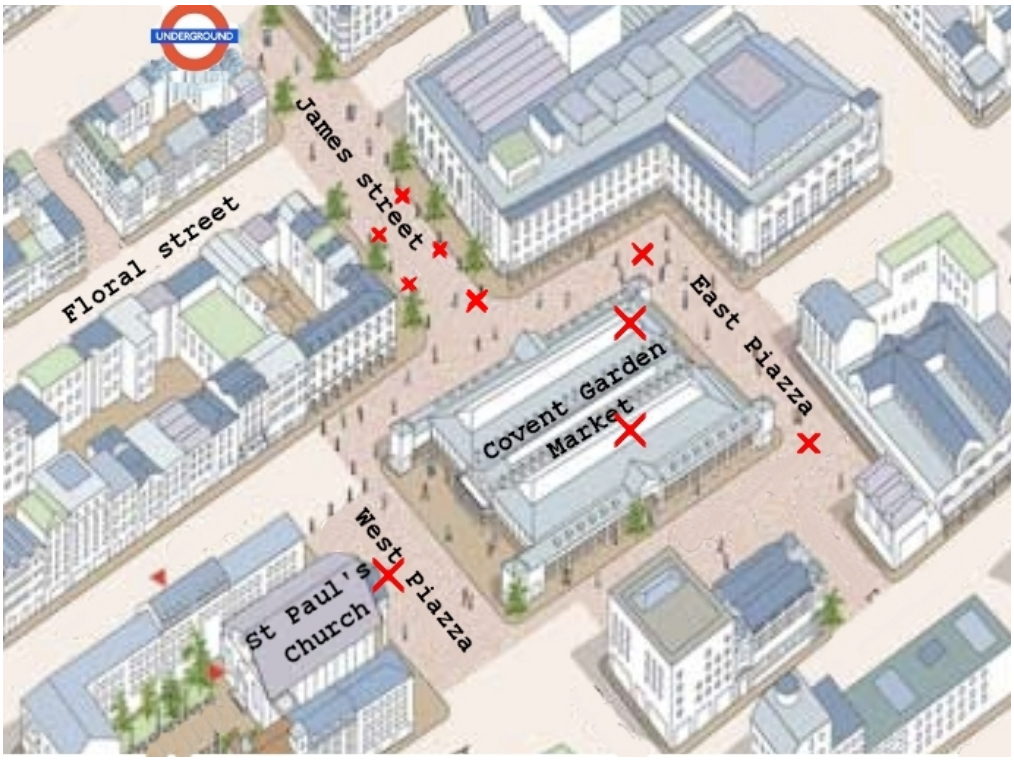


Figure 4.1: Map of the Covent Garden area. The darker streets are pedestrian. The red Xs represent authorized pitches. The size of the Xs is grossly proportional to the amount of audience management performers generally exhibit on the pitch. The three largest Xs are the Covent Garden Market licensed pitches.

respected. On weekends especially, it is not unusual to find budding musicians in the north section of James Street, or more than five concurrent living statue performances in the south section. The pitch at the bottom of the street is often occupied by magicians and other circus artists who actively gather an audience. Similarly, the pitches on the East Piazza are often used by musicians using sound systems and encouraging people to gather around.

The Covent Garden Market office, part of Capital & Counties, an estate company that has owned the market since 2006, manages the remaining three pitches. Two are located within the market building, in the North Hall and in the South Hall courtyard, while the third pitch is the West Piazza. The courtyard pitch is predominantly occupied by classical and opera performers while the North Hall and the West Piazza pitches are predominantly occupied by variety or circus acts. These pitches are subjected to more permissive rules about amplification and types of performances. They are licensed and recruitment of performers is done by way of audition.

Circus or variety performers must hold public liability insurance to perform on the North Hall pitch and on the West Piazza. After passing the audition, the performer holds a permit for one year.

The North Hall pitch is allocated every Monday for the week, while shows on the West Piazza pitch are scheduled every morning for the day (Boyd, 2001). The principle is similar on both pitches; names of the performers who wish to perform are all put into a hat and selected by lot. The first name to come out gets to choose the most desirable time slot. The process is repeated until there are no time slots available or no performers wishing to perform. In the North Hall, each performer is allocated four 30-minute slots for the week. On the West Piazza, performers are allocated one 40-minute slot for the day. Shows run from midday until sundown, which can vary from 3:30 p.m. in winter to up to 10 p.m. during long summer days.[1]. Regularly, a performer who booked a slot does not turn up, or some shows are shorter than expected. This creates additional opportunities for those wishing to perform. Similarly, when shows overrun, late performances are sometimes cancelled.

All pitches are different and some time slots are more lucrative than others. As Boyd (2001) mentions, although the North Hall indoor pitch is less sensitive to bad weather, it might be difficult to attract an audience there on a warm summer day. Similarly, when the weather gets too hot, people might be more inclined to hide in the shade and desert the outdoor pitch. As for time-slots, during long and hot summer days, performers seem to favour late afternoon and early evening slots (from personal observation and informal chats with performers). After 5 p.m. on a weekday, locals and nearby workers invade the numerous terraces for after-work drinks, while tourists are eager for a break after a long day walking around. This is not only the best opportunity to gather an audience, but also the least exhausting conditions as the temperature starts dropping.

A survey conducted in 2004 by the London School of Economics for the City of Westminster details the pedestrian activity around the Piazza (as cited in Department of Planning City Development, 2005). Figure 4.2 shows the average Saturday pedestrian volumes over September and October 2004. Blue Xs are added to represent the likely position of the main pitches. Figure 4.3 gives a picture of the stationary activities on Saturday 4 September, 2004, late afternoon.

Figure 4.2 shows a link between the usage of the space and the position of the pitches. As it is the main thoroughfare between the market and the tube station, James Street has high pedestrian activity (around 80 people per minute at its busiest times), making it the ideal spot for street performances. However, the rules applying to James Street pitches result in a relatively low sta-

[1] Simpson (2008, p.817) describes a stricter time frame where performances run from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m.. My experience of Covent Garden, however, is that the actual unfolding of the daily activity on and around the Piazza often diverges from the prescriptive guidelines.

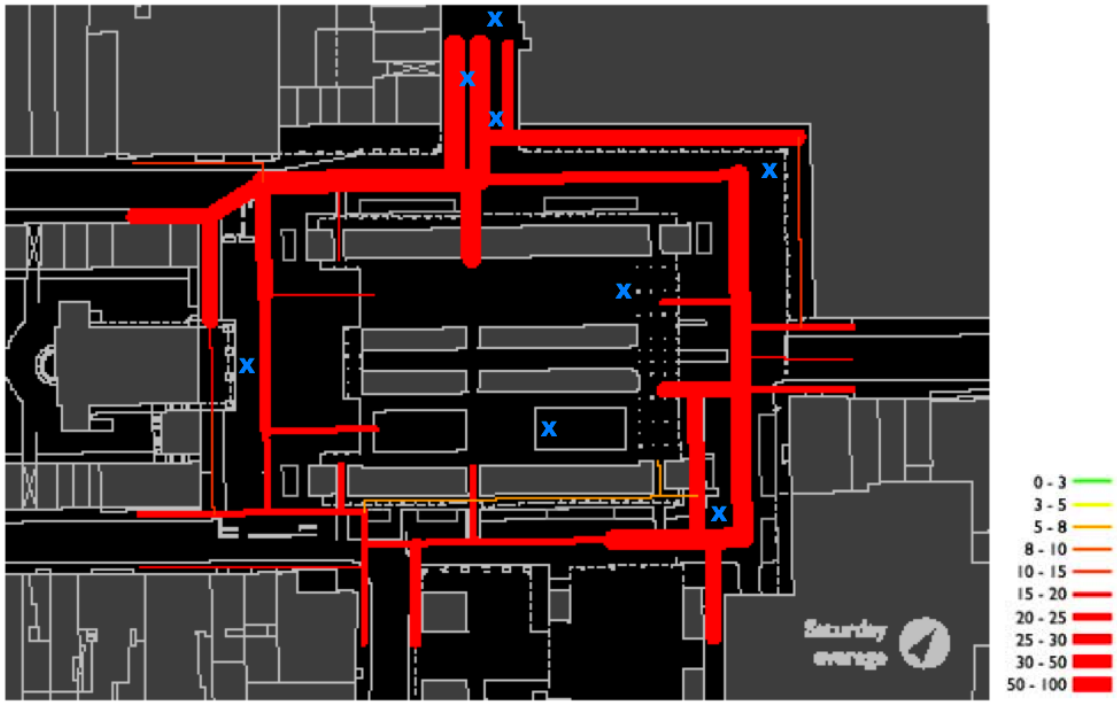


Figure 4.2: Covent Garden Saturday pedestrian volumes.
Total Averages - Persons per minute.
(Department of Planning City Development, 2005)
The blue Xs represent common performance spots.

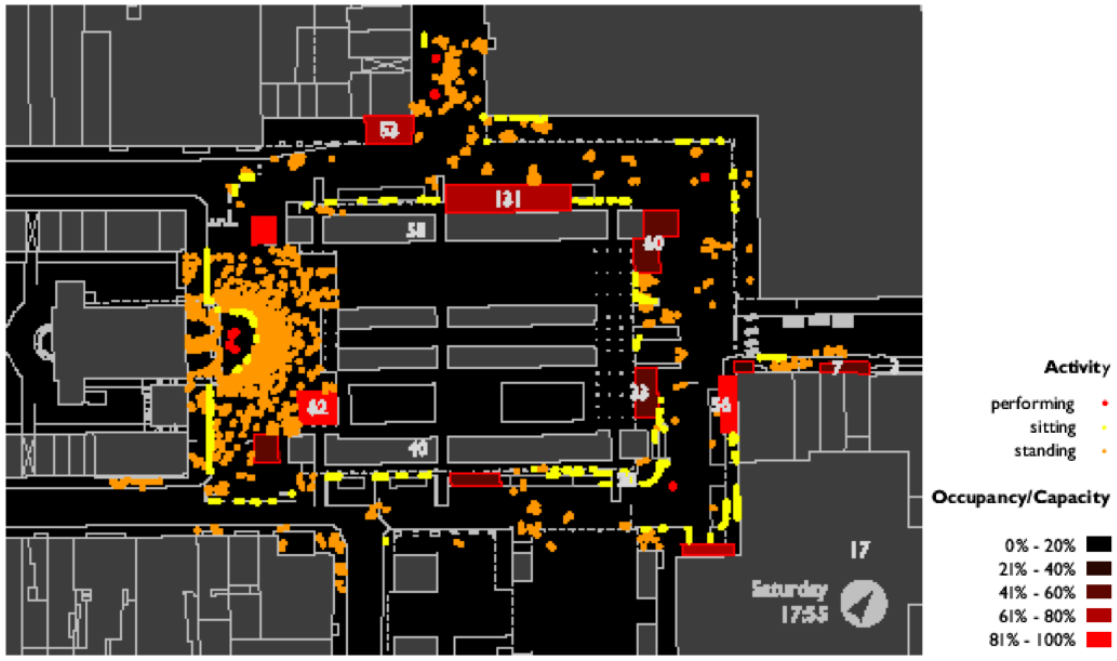


Figure 4.3: Saturday stationary activities. 4 September 2004, 5.55pm.
(Department of Planning City Development, 2005)

tionary activity compare to that on the West Piazza (Figure 4.3). In addition, the stationary activity in James Street seems concentrated around performers and forms a semi-circular shape. Since performers in this area are unlikely to have shaped their audience, it supports the commonplace idea that the circle is a natural shape for a crowd to watch an event (e.g., see Mason, 1992).

Whether it is opportunistic or pure chance, the pitch in the North Hall benefits from being located in direct view line of the most frequented entrance to the market. It is possible that the relatively low volume of pedestrians entering by the north-east entrance in comparison with the south-east one is due to performances blocking the way. Likewise, the higher volume of people accessing the market via the south-east entrance could be due to the presence of classical musicians in the South Hall courtyard. Finally, there is a correlation between the low volume of pedestrian activity on the South Piazza and the absence of pitches in this area. Yet it is not possible to say if it is just the result of the layout of the space doubled with regulations not authorizing performances in this areas, or if one factor is having an influence on the other.

Examining the activity on the West Piazza further, the difference between the volume of pedestrian activity found north of the portico and that recorded under the portico is quite intriguing. The colonnade architecture of the portico cannot account for this drop in activity. On the East Piazza, the colonnades are a main access point, and although there, the drop in pedestrian flow is explained by the entrance to the Royal Opera House, St Paul's church portico leads nowhere. The explanation that people watching a show block access to under the portico is not entirely satisfactory (see Figure 4.3). A similar, if not higher, level of stationary activity takes place on the West Piazza itself, yet such a large drop in average pedestrian activity is not being observed. A third plausible explanation is that activities from the performers themselves account for at least part of this.

Figure 4.4: Panoramic view of the West Piazza looking towards the north. The columns on the the left hand side are those of the portico of St Paul's Church. The columns on the right hand side are the entrance to the market, and support the balcony of the Punch & Judy public house.

The pedestrian activity of Covent Garden attests of the link that exists between how the space

is being shaped by its usage, and how performances are being shaped by the space. Covent Garden was chosen as a location for this study for its wide variety of performances, however, for in-depth study the decision was made to focus exclusively on the West Piazza pitch. Consequently, the activities as exhibited in the present analysis are only typical of this particular location and the specific type of street performances held. However, the observations made are not less valuable for other street performances if only as a point of comparison. The rest of this thesis addresses the question of how the transformation of this public space into a performance place is achieved.

4.2 Methods

This study is a qualitative study of street performances which falls within the general field of ethnography. However, ethnography can be a broad, often underspecified term. This thesis constitutes a multidisciplinary video-based ethnography and uses an interaction analytic, ethnomethodologically-informed approach. Its greatest influence comes from studies of social interactions, including studies of membership categories, gesture, orientation and speech.

For the purpose of this thesis, video is the principal source of data for analysis and is used in order to exhibit certain phenomena found within a larger data set. Consequently, intensive and successive periods of fieldwork have been undertaken throughout the process. They are an invaluable part of the work carried out, and helped to develop familiarity with the settings. At times, they also revealed interesting discrepancies between the understanding of the social situation that emerged from this fieldwork and the later detailed video-based analysis of it. For example, in notes made during fieldwork, it was mentioned that people gathered around the performance space with reference to the position of a rope placed on the floor by the performer. However, as Chapter 5 shows, the detailed analysis of the video recording reveals that the relevance of the ropes is not straightforward and that ropes effectively play a minor part in how people gather around the performance space[2].

In the reporting and analysis of the data, this thesis makes a conscious effort to avoid importing analytic categories which are not directly related to how the participants make sense of their situations. In this respect, the methods of this thesis approach those of ethnomethodology. In particular they draw on the ways CA and related disciplines study embodied interactions and make sense of social practices and public encounters (e.g., Heath & Luff, 2010; Heath & vom Lehn,

[2]Note that the same misreading of the situation is made by street performers who use these ropes as discussed in Chapter 5.

2004; Livingston, 1987; Mondada, 2009, and others). For example, in a street performance, categories such as *performer*, *audience member* or *passer-by* are good-enough approximations of what the participants in the setting of the performance are using in order to make sense of their situations. However, other categories such as gender, age, cultural background and so on, which are a concern for other ethnographic works on audiences, are intentionally left out of the analysis unless otherwise relevant.

Another set of methods extensively used in this thesis is inspired by the study of gesture in interaction along the lines of Kendon (1990) and Schegloff (1998) (see Chapter 3). The way these studies map out gesture as a means to communicate in, and negotiate access to, social situations has proven very useful to understanding the process through which passers-by and audience members make sense of the temporary situation that street performances constitute.

Finally, readings of theatre and performance studies, and the use of and frequent references to Goffman's work (e.g., Goffman, 1981, 1959/1990, see Chapter 3) as an entry point into social science, serve throughout this thesis as a way to take a step back from the step by step analysis of activity. They help put the fine grain details of the analysis into perspective and are useful in informing the fields of performance and theatre studies on the one hand, and that of social interaction on the other hand.

4.2.1 Filming the West Piazza

Before any recording could take place, ethics approval was obtained from Queen Mary University of London (QMUL) Research Ethics Committee (see Appendix B). Formal permission to film was requested from the Covent Garden Market Management Office, and a copy of QMUL public liability policy was provided as part of the process. Additionally, unofficial permissions to set up cameras on their premises was obtained from Saint Paul's Church and the Punch & Judy public house.

Through repeated observation of the West Piazza from different view points, it quickly became apparent that at least two cameras were needed: Camera 1, placed above the setting, to give an overview of the scene and help address issues such as how people walk in and out of the formation, how they walk around it, and what shapes audiences take; Camera 2, placed under the portico, to record the performance and the audience, with the aim to collect data useful to understanding how audience members respond and collaborate.

There was little choice in the exact location of the cameras. The manager of the Punch & Judy

Public House required the camera to be placed at a corner to prevent disruption to the customers. As for Camera 2, the first performer approached asked that the camera was set up close to one of the columns so that it wouldn't be in his way when coming into and out of the space. It became the habitual position to set up the camera. On one occasion, a performer (Phil), whose act necessitates a rope to be tied up between two columns, asked for the camera to be moved into the audience, facing the him rather than the audience.

Three shows were recorded with Camera 1 fixed on the balcony and Camera 2 following the performer. On analysing the data, Camera 1 provided relevant information about the audience while Camera 2 was used as a reference to understand the context. However, on occasion where the performer remained at the same location for longer periods, Camera 2 captured interesting, yet frustratingly incomplete, data of portions of the audience. Consequently, Camera 3 was added next to Camera 2 to record a fixed portion of the audience throughout the show (see Figure 4.5).

The first round of recordings used only the camera's own microphones. Although the quality of the recording was surprisingly good, the surrounding noise made it difficult to accurately transcribe the performer's speech. Most performers use some form of sound amplification, therefore, a voice recorder was placed in front of the performer's loudspeaker, recording the performer's speech separately.

Approaching the performers

The lead performer whose details where provided by the Covent Garden Market management office was approached first. He agreed for his performances to be filmed and provided the contact details of other performers. Performers do not know until mid-morning whether and when they will have a show for the day. Initially, performers were contacted by phone in the morning and filmed if possible later in the day. However, the number of constraints was high: A second person had to be available to operate the cameras; sufficient time was needed between the phone call and the performance to allow for transportation and setting up of the material; and the weather had to be sufficiently dry amongst others things. On a few occasions, on arrival the show had been cancelled or was likely to be because the performances were running late, or the camera could not be set up on the Punch & Judy's balcony because the establishment was too crowded. As a result, over a three week period, only three complete shows were recorded, which served to provide a first set of data for analysis, and to validate the data gathering protocol.

For the second round of data collection changes were made. An increasing familiarity with

the performers, the material and the settings allowed for a more opportunistic approach. The material was set up on the pub's balcony at the beginning of the afternoon before it got too busy. The performers present at that time were then approached, the research presented to them, and permission to film them was sought. Whoever would agree to it was filmed. The rejection rate using this approach was much lower than over the phone, the presence of the cameras generating interest from other performers. A further ten recordings were obtained in this way.

Collected data

The first three recordings took place in July 2008 while the other ten were shot between August and September 2009. A total of 10 performers were filmed, 3 of whom twice. An estimated 26 hours of video were recorded over the three cameras, corresponding to 9.5 hours of performance. The type of acts recorded are varied although most include some juggling of objects ranging from balls, balloons and clubs to swords and chainsaws. Other routines include unicycle riding, sword swallowing, tightrope walking, laying on a bed of nails, escapology and clowning.

4.2.2 Analysing the Data

Watching the data

The first step in analysing the collected data is to watch the videos. During this exploratory iterative approach, videos are watched in full and in sections; at full speed, at high speeds and frame by frame; for the same show, the multiple camera views are watched individually and as a synchronised ensemble. Sometimes the sound is that recorded by the camera itself, providing an ambient sound and a clearer impression of the audience responses, at other times, the sound recorded separately from the performer's loudspeaker is synchronised on top of the video. At other times, it is useful to watch the video only, without any sound, and as a direct parallel, to listen to the sound without the visual distraction of the video. Any combination of the above can be explored depending on the particular needs of the analysis being carried out. All these different methods of watching/listening and re-watching/re-listening help to identify moments of special interest, such as recurrent techniques or actions across multiple shows of the same performer, or across different performances; failures, errors, or things that do not go as planned in the performance. Other observations worth exploring further are episodes where one's own interpretation of the same interaction differs depending on the mode of watching employed, or to investigate particular questions or curiosities that arise from the literature review or from exploring

other forms of performance.

Because of the nature of this process, the findings of this thesis are intimately tied to the interests, curiosity and perceptions of the author. A different investigator would likely address a different set of questions and focus on a different range of episodes and observations, although the repeated views help point toward a certain form of objectivity and relevance. For that reason, an integral part of the method are data sessions, where data is watch with others, often bringing a new perspective on it. The analytic accounts provided in this thesis are tested against the evidence of the video data and transcripts in each instance. They have been developed through discussions and presentations and are, of course open to challenge and re-interpretation through re-analysis of the data provided (see Sacks, 1984).

Coding the data

The second step of the analysis of the data was a manual transcription and annotation process. ELAN[3](Brugman & Russel, 2004) was used to synchronise the three videos and the separately recorded sound, and play them all side by side (see Figure 4.5). The synchronisation of the videos was performed manually based on one or several key features identifiable in all the videos such as a loud banging noise or rhythmic steps. The synchronisation of the sound was more approximate and done through trial and error, numerous replays and attempting to match the performer's lip movement with the speech heard. ELAN allows the researcher to switch easily between the synchronised external audio source and the audio from the video. This function prevents the occasional delay of the audio signal from accidentally being reported in the annotation.

Two levels of coding of the events were performed. Some events were annotated across one or several whole performances. This type of coding proved very useful as a first means of investigation of a generic research question and to generate new insights. Categories of events were coded on separate annotation segments. Each event within a category showed when the event occurs and its duration, which allowed for more detailed analysis later on. For example, audience responses were first coded across three performances, using a simple category coding scheme where each audience response event was annotated as clap, laughter, cheer, boo, or other, each category being placed on separate segments. In the case of cheers for example, this gross categorisation was later refined. For one performance, the specific speech-noise produced ("yeah" or "woo") was detailed, the strength of the response ("woo" or "WOO") was added, and the

[3]ELAN annotation software, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, The Netherlands - http://www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/elan/

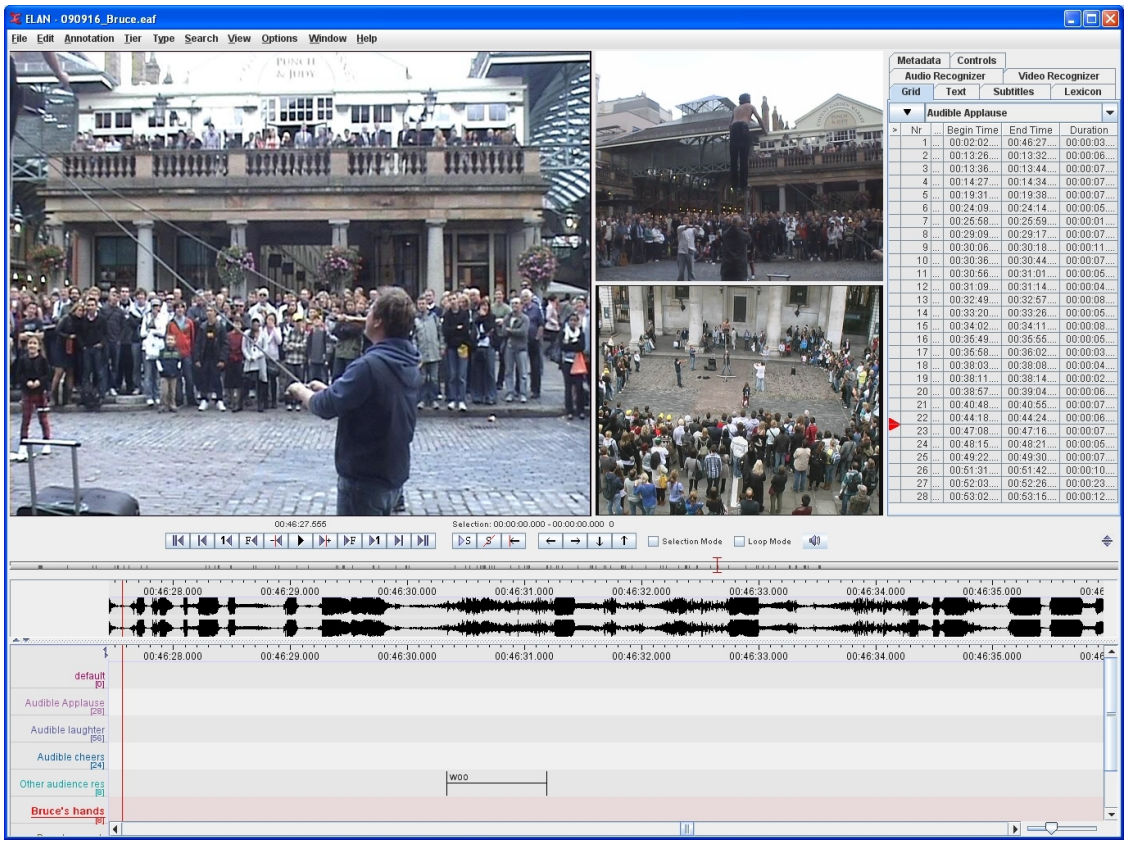


Figure 4.5: Example of the annotation environment in ELAN, aggregating three synchronised camera feeds and the audio feed of one of Bruce's show. In this case, the close-up view from Camera 3 is shown on the left, the mobile view of Camera 2, top-right, and the above view of Camera 1, bottom-right.

temporal boundaries of each event were made more precise. A detailed analysis of these responses is presented in Chapter 8.

The second level of coding was the very detailed annotation of one episode of particular importance. The fragments considered were often very short, sometimes lasting no longer than 10 seconds, and the annotation segments were numerous and multi-modal. The annotation focused on one or several subjects of the scene. The type of events coded for included speech and noises, orientation of segments of the body (head, trunk, lower body), motion of the subject (forward, backward, stopped), details of a gesture—either a global gesture (raising left arm) or its decomposition (rotate left wrist so that palm faces up, extend left elbow, rotate shoulder with arm away from the body). The descriptions were often verbose and did not follow a set coding scheme. For this level of coding, the annotation was performed frame by frame and the exact beginning and end of an annotation was extremely precise, that is, the same cues were used across all subjects and events. In annotating individual claps of an applause, for example, the beginning

of the movement could be described from the moment where the two hands move away from each other, or from the moment they join. The decision was arbitrary, but once taken, it was reproduced systematically.

Transcription of the data

The main reason for separately recording the sound was for ease of speech transcription. Transcriber[4](Barras, Geoffrois, Wu, & Liberman, 1998) was used for the transcription of speech (see Figure 4.6). As a tool designed for the sole purpose of speech transcription, Transcriber provided a smoother segmentation operation than ELAN. Conveniently, ELAN fully supported the integration of Transcriber's output files, and each speaker was imported as a separate annotation segment and synchronised with the audio signal. The transcription made in Transcriber served as a first draft version (e.g., Appendix C), which was then imported into ELAN and later refined as appropriate.

The specific notation conventions used in the final transcripts as presented in this thesis are found in Appendix A.

Note that, apart from Chapter 8, the transcripts presented throughout this thesis are not exact CA transcripts and do not reflect the timing of different actions relative to each other. In Chapter 8 however, the timing of speech and gesture are exact and reported at the level of CA studies.

Creating visuals

The third step of the analysis of the data was twofold. The interaction was written up in a descriptive form based on the coding, and visuals were created to support the reader's understanding of the interaction. Throughout this thesis, various illustration techniques are used which are entirely part of the analytic process. Sometimes, screen shots from ELAN annotation segments are presented, coupled with video frames which can be cropped, blown-up, or enhanced in some other way to point out the relevant part of the interaction (e.g, Figure 6.8). Strips of frames are also produced with or without retouch (e.g., figures 6.7 and 7.2). Other times, the need for schematic drawings arose, and Kendon (1990)-like representations are used (e.g., Figure 6.14). Other times again, CA style transcripts are used, with a layer of gesture annotation (see Chapter 8).

Illustrations play an important part in the analysis and the understanding of the interaction. The process of stripping down the interaction to its essential constituents, or the action of bringing

[4]Transriber transcription software: http://trans.sourceforge.net/en/presentation.php

Figure 4.6: Example of the transcription environment in Transcriber for Jim and Alex's show.

the focus onto a particular element of the interaction, help isolate this element from the noisy environment that the interaction-rich situation constitutes. However, looking at interactions in isolation can be misleading. When re-watching the scene as a whole or through a different media, it was sometimes realised that the understanding constructed through illustration was biased or incomplete.

In conclusion, although the description of the process looks linear, the analytic method employed crucially is not. It is the trial and error, the constant re-watching and the frequent changes of perspective that bring validity to the method. It is also this constant repetition of the process that renders a systematic coding by multiple observers unnecessary, and potentially unwelcome due to the lack of flexibility such process introduces.

Confronting findings

The last type of observations that informs the construction of this thesis is the confrontation of one's own findings and hypothesis with the reality of the street performance, both in Covent Garden and elsewhere. It is informative to regularly go back to watch street performances and

discuss the analytic results with novice audience members and occasional street performers. Every city visited becomes the occasion to stop and watch street performances, and more importantly, their audience. Although this reflexive practice does not provide analytic findings of the same nature as the careful watching and description of the videos, it provides a way to validate or invalidate research findings by confronting them to new, not overly analysed data. For example, can the research findings predict the performers' next move? Can their success be analysed according to the level of audience management they do?

When stuck with the progress of the analysis, it was useful to go and spend a couple of hours watching performances in Covent Garden, looking for new ways to look at them: How different performers compare across a whole afternoon; how a performer previously studied struggles or is particularly efficient on a particular performance; how performers change their routine, add new techniques or drop others out; why some performers seemed to always be successful no matter how poorly the ones before or after them do; and so on. Eavesdropping on the balcony audience discussing the performance below them and their own interpretation of the practice can also be useful; as can be engaging in conversation with them.

Although none of these observations are presented as data in this thesis, they undoubtedly contribute to shaping the analysis. They also play an important part in the choices made in the remaining of this thesis to focus on certain aspects of the interaction while leaving others out.

4.2.3 Analytic choices

The next four chapters (chapters 5 to 8) present the empirical work of the thesis. As an ensemble, these chapters reveal that Covent Garden street performances rely on multiple interactional techniques and that in a same sequence of actions, different elements of the interaction play different roles in the construction of the performance. For this reason, we have chosen to focus our analysis on a small number of cases that are analysed on different dimensions rather than a broad cross section of different cases. In doing so, we aim to bring to light a layering of interaction constitutive of performances in general and more prominently of street performances. The first layer, analysed in Chapter 5, is that of the physical elements of the street space. The second layer, exposed in Chapter 6, is the way these physical elements are displayed. The third layer, presented in Chapter 7, is that of verbal addresses to the audience. The final layer, addressed in Chapter 8, is the interactional construction and synchronisation of speech and gesture between street performers and audiences. For the purpose of this analysis, this last layering sole requires transcriptions to a

CA level of exactitude, and only the excerpts presented in this penultimate chapter should be read as such.

Chapter 5

Making Space:

"When you're a street performer, you don't have a stage or an audience …"

—Phil—

The street performances that take place on Covent Garden West Piazza are very specific, not only in the way they occupy space, but also in the type of audience management they require. The first evidence of this peculiarity is the little amount of time Covent Garden street performers spend performing an *act*. In a 40-minute slot, the cumulative time spent performing skilled circus-like tricks such as juggling, unicycle-riding or rope-walking is at most 10 minutes. The big finale never lasts more than 2 minutes, and is more often than not closer to 30 seconds. So what do Covent Garden street performers do in the remaining time? Typical activities include setting-up their material and the stage, gathering, shaping and growing a crowd, building membership and responsiveness from the audience and eliciting payment. Interactionally, a Covent Garden street performer's routine resembles more that of a market pitcher, as described by C. Clark and Pinch (1995), than that of a street musician (e.g., see Tanenbaum, 1995). This thesis aims at understanding (a) why Covent Garden street performers cannot just stand in the middle of the West Piazza and start a juggling act for example, and (b) how they successfully transform a public space filled with passers-by into a socially-marked performance space populated by a remunerating audience.

Figure 5.1: Shape of the audience gathered around four different performances.

In Covent Garden, there are striking consistencies in the layout and orientation of the space in which performers act (the stage) and that in which the audience is placed (the auditorium) (Figure 5.1). The performance is oriented towards the market and the balcony. The portico serves as an off-stage area where performers store their material before the show, change if they need to, and wait for their turn. The audience is assembled on at least three sides of the performance space, organised in dense rows. Passers-by acknowledge the restricted access to this space by walking around it rather than across it.

However, a detailed analysis of the early placement of watchers around the performance shows that this formation of the audience does not emerge spontaneously. This chapter investigates the physical elements of the environment and how they impact the overall formation of the performance space. The non-configurable features of the street, the elements of which configuration mainly depends on the performer (such as physical objects), and those over which performers only have partial control (mainly people) are considered in turn.

5.1 Architecture and Urban Environment

The first people or groups who stop to watch position themselves in three specific places: They sit at the edge of the kerb; they stand about four meters behind those who sit on the kerb; or

they stand about six meters behind the kerb, aligned with the passage that leads on to the piazza (Figure 5.2). The following people who stop to watch position themselves around those who are already there. This gathering pattern is recurrent across all performances.

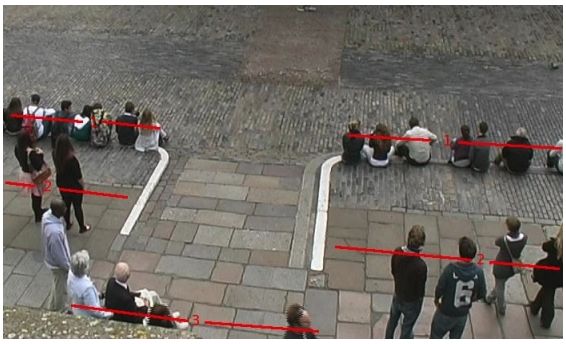


Figure 5.2: Positions taken by the first people who stop and watch.
—1— People who seat at the edge of the kerb.
—2— People who stand about 4 metres behind the kerb edge.
—3— People who stand about 6 metres behind the kerb edge.

This observation reveals that the kerb is of high spatial significance. It creates a front-line, to which audience members are highly sensitive, but also encourages people to gather in a frontal position with the performance. This frontal disposition seems to go against the commonplace idea that street performance audiences spontaneously gather in a circle around the performer (see section 4.1.3).

Here, the formation that emerges from this initial gathering pattern (Figure 5.2) is different from those observed later on during the shows (Figure 5.1) or on James street. The majority of the audience gathers on the kerb, along its entire length and across its entire width. The audience is scattered and the ramp between the two parts of the kerb remains clear (Figure 5.3). People also gather on the sides, but usually quite far from the edges of the performance space as demarcated by ropes, often placed on the ground by performers. On occasions, groups of people gather around the columns of the portico which are commonly used to lean on. Although passers-by are sensitive to the interactional space between the performer and the first line of audience, in particular that sat on the kerb, they commonly walk between the groups of people, insensitive to the fact that most people share a common orientation towards the performance.

The architectural feature of the portico, reminiscent of a proscenium arch, along with the presence of the kerb facing it, where people tend to sit, are the most plausible explanations for (a) the global orientation of the performance and (b) the resulting front-line. Street performers show a high degree of sensitivity to these spatial elements. The way they lay out ropes in relation to the

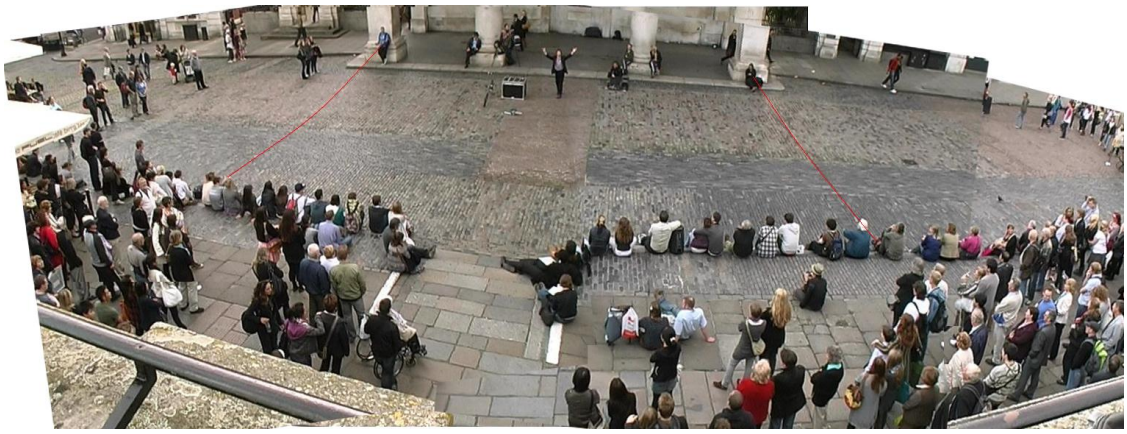


Figure 5.3: Reconstructed panoramic view of the formation of the audience that emerges spontaneously on the piazza without the intervention of the performer. (The ropes are graphically enhanced to make them visible.)

kerb is a good example.

5.2 Configurable Elements

5.2.1 Ropes

Most performers lay out ropes on the floor as markers of where audience members ought to stand. Although some performers lay one long rope in a three-quarter circle shape (Figure 5.4b), they most commonly draw a rectangular shape delimited by, on either side, a rope; at the back, the church; and at the front, the kerb (Figure 5.4a). This use of architectural boundaries shows that performers are sensitive to ways people naturally engage with the space.

(a) Using two ropes

(b) Using one long rope

Figure 5.4: Layout of the ropes of different performers.

Some performers make the function of ropes verbally explicit as part of their show:

(1)

```
Alex:  Here we go Ladies and Gentlemen!  Using a simple piece
       of red rope we shall now transform these cobbles into a
       theatre.
       ...
Jim:   I say we just need a nice straight line just so people
       know where the front row is.
```

Performers who are new to Covent Garden do not necessarily use ropes to start with. However, several of them were observed picking up on the technique after only one or two weeks performing in Covent Garden. Once again, Alex and Jim, who perform a duo act, comment on this transmission of techniques in their show:

(2)

```
Jim:   Hum.  I saw this folk yesterday
Alex:  yeah?
Jim:   he used a rope
Alex:  rope?
Jim:   to define his stage
Alex:  brilliant!
```

As objects used early in the show, ropes have a special status because of the significance they have for performers (personal communication). When asked about it, some performers claimed that ropes play an important role in establishing the performance space by preventing people from crossing the space and by showing audience members where to stand. However, the observation of how people act suggests different roles for the rope.

After placing his material in the middle of the street, Sam starts laying out two ropes, one on each side of the space, across the street. In Figure 5.5 he is finishing laying out the second rope. Two people are seated on the floor on the inner-side of the rope (Figure 5.5a). They have probably been watching the previous show and have not moved since. The effect of Sam laying the rope on the ground is immediate. As soon as Sam has dropped the extremity of the cord, the individual closest to the rope initiates a standing motion closely followed by the other one. They both rise, walk to the other side of the rope, and sit side by side just behind the rope, facing the stage area (Figure 5.5b). The entire sequence has occurred without Sam verbally addressing them or looking at them. This sequence could lead us to conclude that, as Jim puts it, ropes indicate to people where the front row is, and thus, people should position themselves right behind them.

However, people have not changed their position in response to Sam placing the first rope. It may be that the people who move when Sam places the second rope are inside the area delimited by the rope on one side and the kerb at the back, while those standing or sitting next to the first rope are outside of this area. If this is the case, then ropes act as space-delimiters, in the sense that they keep audience members out of the stage area, but they do not give a precise indication that

(a) Before (b) After

Figure 5.5: Position of two people just (a) before and (b) after the performer lays a rope.

people should stand just behind it, or define a front row in the same way the kerb does.

This limited role of ropes is further exemplified by the effect the presence of the ropes on the ground has on the positioning of newcomers. On the side where the two people moved just behind the ropes, newcomers sit next to them, positioning themselves behind the rope, in a straight line parallel to the rope. On the other side though, a first group of three individuals sits about a metre away from the rope, forming a line with a 45-degree angle from the rope. The people who arrive next align themselves with them, increasing the gap between them and the rope. The gap is only filled when the performer asks the audience to come closer to the rope.

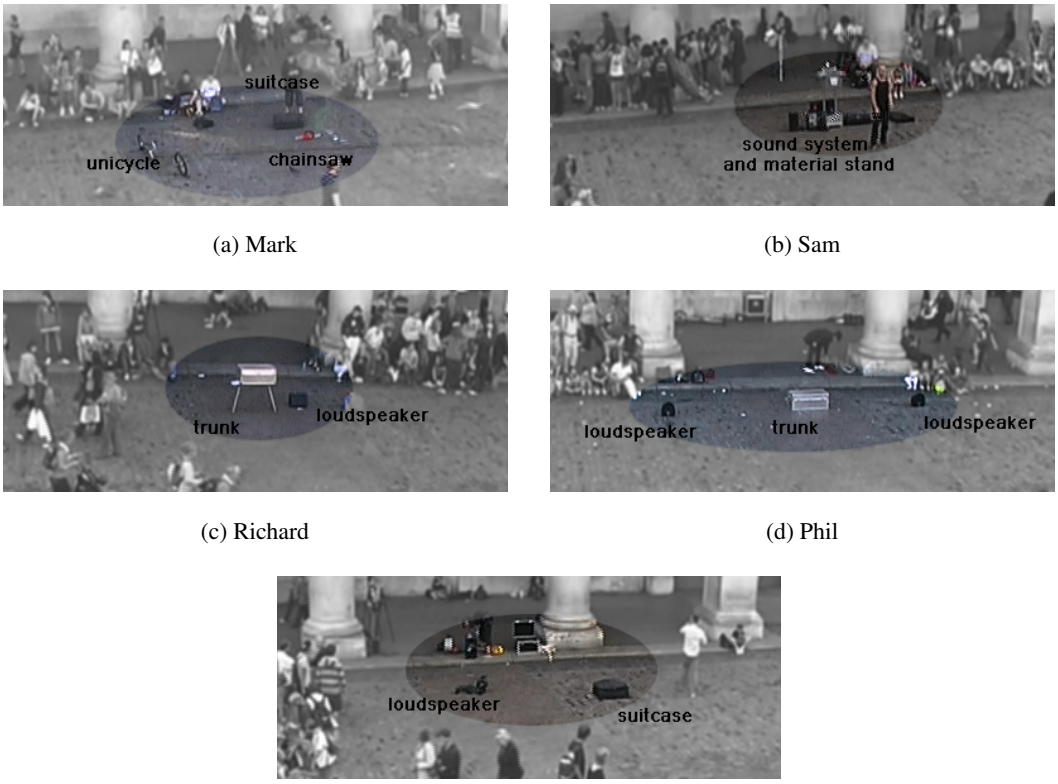
Additionally, there is no clear evidence that ropes play any significant part in preventing passers-by from crossing the space. The only performance where it could be the case, is Mark's. Mark usually gives each rope to two audience members and asks them to hold it high up, hence creating a physical barrier over which people would have to step should they want to cross the space. However, observation shows that people tend to put the rope on the ground shortly after being asked to hold it (as in, for example, Figure 5.3). In one recording where they hold the rope for longer (see Figure 5.9), the flow of pedestrians across the performance space has already stopped before the performer hands out the rope.

With the evidence at hand, the only clear role that can be attributed to the presence of the ropes on the formation of the space is that they indicate to audience members where not to position themselves. Ropes do not prevent passers-by from crossing the space—unless used as physical barriers—, nor do they demarcate a precise audience formation.

5.2.2 Props and Other Material

Ropes are not the only objects being laid out in the street. Again, there are striking consistencies in where performers place these objects. Sam, for instance, places his material, consisting of a sound system, a stand for his juggling props and a couple of black bags, aligned on the ground about a metre away from the edge of the portico (Figure 5.6b). Mark places a sound-system, a suitcase, a unicycle and a chainsaw (Figure 5.6a); Richard, Phil and Victor, among others, set up loudspeakers and a trunk or suitcase (Figure 5.6c-e); all in similar locations.

Placing one or several objects in the middle of the street is often the first action performers take. In Figure 5.6e, for example, Victor has placed a suitcase and a loudspeaker in the middle of the street before the previous performer has removed his own material, and before adjusting his microphone. The apparent importance the presence of objects seems to have for performers raises the question of the purpose these objects serve. Is the action of placing objects in the middle of the street in fact sufficient to establish a performance space?



(a) Mark

(b) Sam

(c) Richard

(d) Phil

(e) Victor

Figure 5.6: The material of different performers as they first display it.

One way to address this question is to examine people's reactions to these objects. At the

beginning of the show, when items are placed in the middle of the street and no performer is in sight, i.e. the performer is preparing under the portico, the presence of objects generates very little change in the behaviour and orientation of passers-by who cross the piazza and walk past them. These passers-by enter and exit the scene seemingly unaware of the objects; they do not orient to them or mark the fact that they sometimes need to walk around them. Across the entire corpus, this observation is true of all the passers-by walking past the objects. If placing objects is not designed for those who walk past them as a way, for example, to reduce the amount of pedestrian activity or attract new audience members, who is it designed for?

At the end of a show, although most of the crowd quickly disperses, some people stay in the vicinity. Unlike passers-by, these people are aware of the performance that just finished. How does this awareness affect their behaviour towards the objects? In the next example the behaviour of three of these groups is examined. Figure 5.7a shows the position of the three groups as the duo Jim and Alex finishes its show. The performers are clearing up their material and the crowd is dispersing out of the piazza. The groups have not moved much since watching the performance. Group 1 remains in the same place, while Group 2 (Figure 5.7b) and Group 3 (Figure 5.7c) relocate towards the kerb. The orientation of the members of these two groups is not specifically oriented towards the performance space. The appearance of Phil, the next performer, carrying his trunk triggers reactions in all three groups (Figure 5.7a). In Group 1, each member, in turn, orients their head towards the performer before they move and leave the piazza. In Group 2, the two people standing orient their heads towards the performer before they sit. In Group 3, both orient their heads towards the performer and then move slightly forward to align with the edge of the kerb (Figure 5.7b). During the following 2 minutes, among the people who have been standing around on the piazza, many show similar reactions; that is, they orient towards the object, even in the absence of the performer, and they either leave the area or take a watching position.

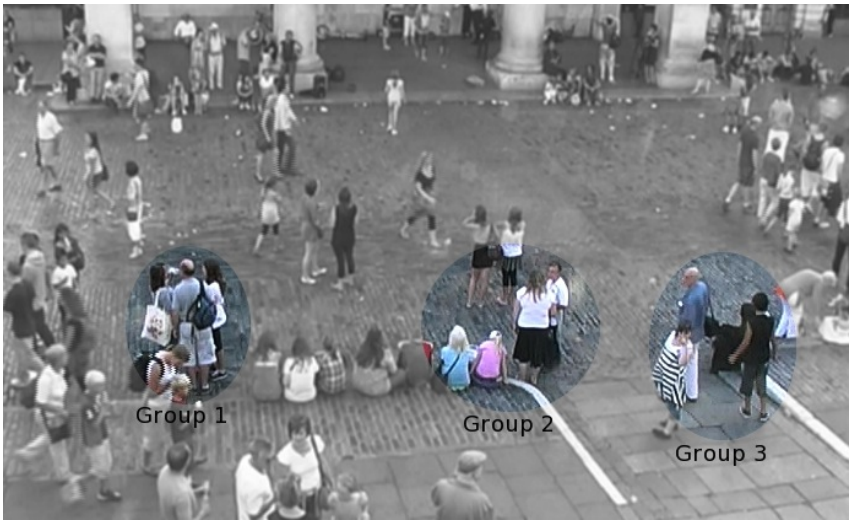
The placement of objects in the middle of the street is designed for those who have been watching the previous performance. It announces that the space will remain a performance one, and the normal use of the space as a street will not resume or will soon be disrupted again. It displays a continuum but also a possible completion point for audience members. They can either stay and watch the next show or leave. It is a form of entr'acte, even a literal one, since it happens between two acts.


Group 2
Group 3
Group 1

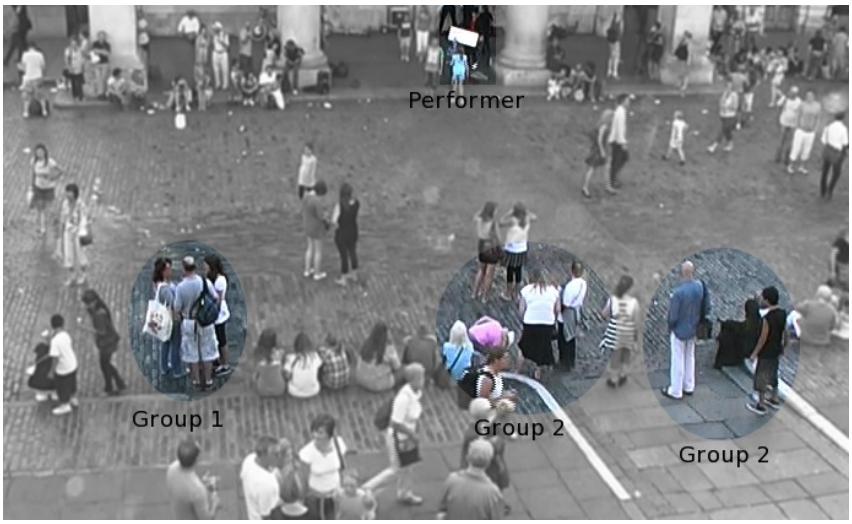
(a)


Group 3
Group 1
Group 2

(b)


Group 1
Group 2
Group 3

(c)



(a)

(b)

Figure 5.7: Evolution of the positions taken by three different groups of people between two shows.

5.3 People

The one feature of the space passers-by seem consistently sensitive to is people. The physical organisation of audience members around the performance space impacts the trajectories of those who cross the space. In the following example, two women approach the performance. As they notice the formation of the crowd, the women adapt their trajectory in order to go around the audience gathered. However, as revealed by the performer's reaction, they are still walking through the performance space.

In Figure 5.8, Phil addresses the two women as they walk in front of the people on the kerb.

(3) Phil: ((pointing)) Don't worry ladies, it's just a stage you're going through.

Figure 5.8: Phil commenting on two passers-by crossing the space.

As he sees them about to enter the space, he starts pointing at them while stepping up on his trunk and saying "Don't worry ladies, it's just a stage you're going through". Here, both his gesture and his speech, are designed to construct the women's position and movement through the space as specially accountable. Nevertheless, neither woman reacts to the pun, both keep walking in exactly the same way, paying no attention to the performer. In the next 4 minutes, 11 more groups walk through that same space. Most of them have adapted their initial trajectory, and none of them display any sign of acknowledging a special interactional space. The performer does not comment on the passage of these groups, but later comments to the audience "It's amazing that people are still walking through the show at this stage isn't it? Okay, can we stop that from happening?", and begins to re-organise the formation of the audience (see section 5.3.2). In contrast, no one crosses the area between the people seated on the floor and the performer.

It is unusual for passers-by to not show signs of accountability when directly addressed by a performer as they cross the performance space, or when they witness someone being picked on for crossing the space. The most common reaction when people are being picked on for walking in front of the kerb, is for them to reorient towards the ramp, and keep walking behind the people seated on the kerb. Here however, the women do not change direction or speed up to leave the space, they do not orient to or away from the performer. Their absence of reaction is an indication that they do not understand the comment as addressed to them, despite the performer's attempts to

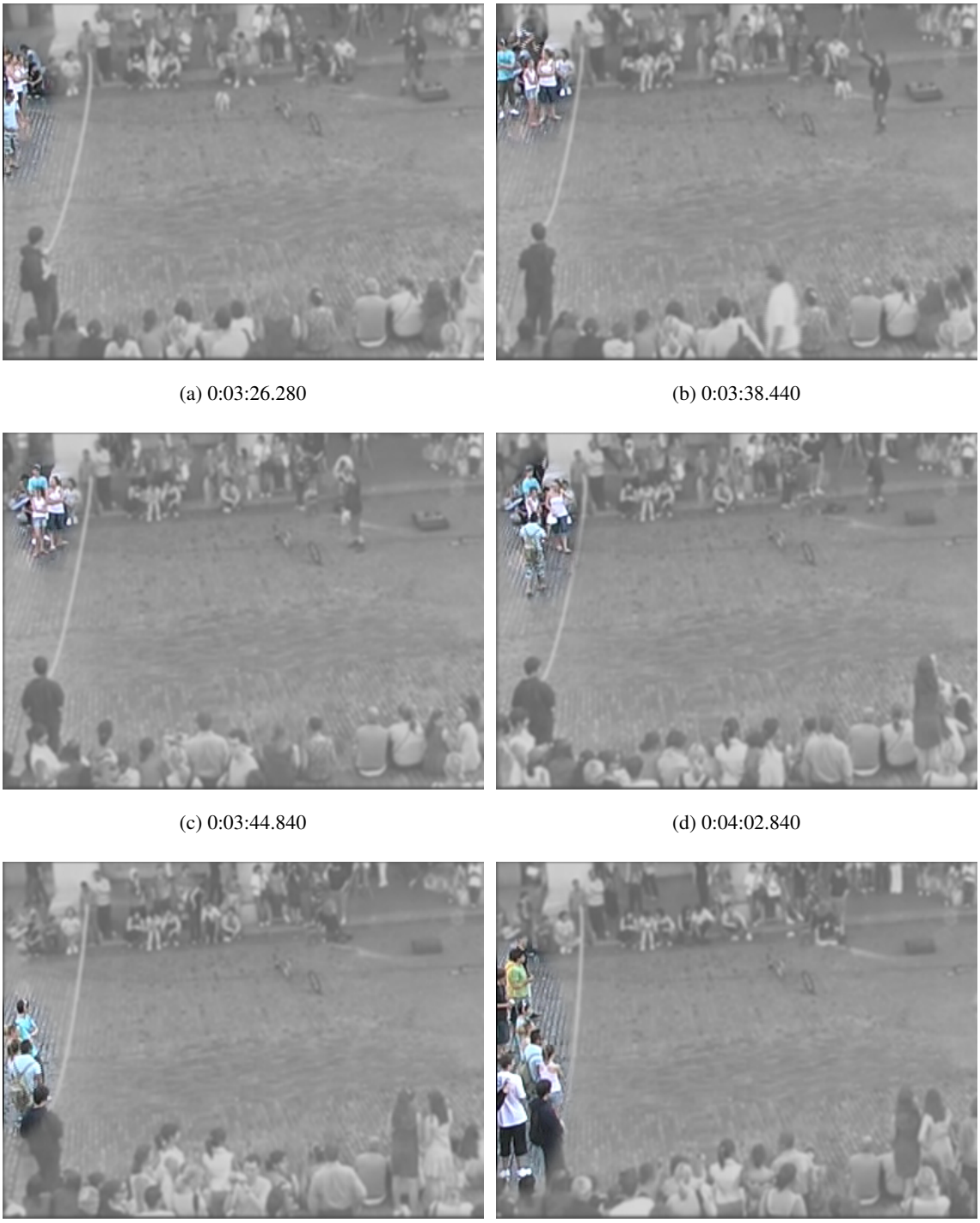
design it as such. Their initial change of direction shows that they account for the presence of the performance, but to them, it is the people seated on the floor that demarcates the limit of the performance space, not the kerb. How can such a formation emerge?

5.3.1 Aligning with Others

Three ways of relating to the social situation impact the physical position taken by individual audience members: as an individual, as a member of a group of familiar people, and as a member of the collective body. Each of these relations is reflected in rules of interaction, the most salient one being the distance people leave between themselves and others. In ordinary settings, this interpersonal distance is smaller with familiar people than unfamiliar ones, and allows the external observer to identify couples, groups and so on. In an audience, the way each individual responds to the rules of interaction contributes to its overall shaping.

At the beginning of Mark's first show, a group of four people (a man, a woman and two children) stands close to the columns, a couple of metres behind the rope the performer previously laid on the floor (Figure 5.9a). The man walks away from the group, outside of the field of vision of the camera. During that time, the performer orients towards the group and performs large arm gestures aimed at people behind them. The woman and the two children orient their heads to look in the same direction as the performer. In order to, presumably, get a better view of who the performer is interacting with, the woman adjusts her body position, resulting in her moving a bit closer to the rope (Figure 5.9b). This movement triggers the two children to adjust their positions, moving closer to her (Figure 5.9c). The three of them remain in that position, watching the performance, until the man comes back. He looks in the direction of the woman (Figure 5.9d) and gestures his arm in the direction of the kerb. He then starts to move towards the kerb. The woman follows after gesturing towards the children. They all walk towards the kerb and establish themselves standing side by side behind the rope, but forming a line not completely parallel with the rope (see Figure 5.9e). In the next minute a dozen people gather on the same line as them. Each time, the newcomers align themselves with the people who are already there, watching. As a result, a first line of audience slowly forms at an angle with the rope rather than parallel to it (see Figure 5.9f).

In this example, the man's individual goals lead him to choose a position that differs from the one he and his family initially adopted. At the same time, it is the interaction between the four members that allows us to categorise them as belonging to the same social group of familiar people,



(a) 0:03:26.280 (b) 0:03:38.440

(c) 0:03:44.840 (d) 0:04:02.840

(e) 0:04:13.360 (f) 0:04:48.560

Figure 5.9: Formation of the audience behind the south rope, Mark's show.

the most probable category in this case being that of a family. Within this type of interaction, two levels of physical positioning can be observed. At a macro level, the four members of the family stay together as a group by relocating from one place to the other. At a micro level, each member of the group sustains their position with the other members of the group by adjusting their

interpersonal distance, as the children do when the mother moves closer to the rope. A third type of alignment also exists with the rest of the audience, that is, they all adopt a common orientation facing the performance area. Additionally, people position themselves not with respect to the position of the rope, but as to be on a same line as the people who are already watching.

Coming back to Phil's example (Figure 5.8), the specific formation of the audience results from the presence of a group of children seated on the floor at the very beginning of the show. Newcomers who join later on, either align themselves with the architectural features of the space (the kerb) or with the people already present. Additionally, the people who gather on the side recognised those seated on the floor as marking the edge of the performance area rather than the kerb. As a result, two distinct front rows appear: one created by the people seated on the floor and one created by those seated on the kerb. The gap left between these two separate formation serves as a corridor that passers-by use to cross the space. Unlike the spontaneous frontal formation described in section 5.1, here the people who gather on the sides come all the way to the rope, in a circle-like formation.

5.3.2 Managing the Physical Layout of the Audience

Most performers create the circle-like formation presented in Figure 5.1 by actively managing the layout of the audience. Sham, for example, re-organises the physical arrangement of audience members, and first asks the people seated on the kerb to stand up (example 4). To that effect, he stands facing the audience on the kerb, he puts both his arms straight in front of him, and opens them widely with his palms facing down, in a motion designating all the people in front of him (visual in example 4). He then slightly bends while bringing his arms closer to his body and turning his palms face up. He rises, moving his arms in a fluttering motion as an indication for people to stand.

(4) Sham: Everyone on the kerb, just for the beginning of the show please stand up. Stand up.

Then, he walks to one side of the performance area and, turning his back to the crowd, stands

with both arms wide open forming a line parallel to where he wants the limit of his stage to be (example 5) .

(5) | Sham: Over here can you give me a lovely straight line (.) just about (.) here.

He then rotates his trunk to see the crowd and encourages them to move forward with a movement of the arm first pointing in their direction and then coming back along his body and pointing at an invisible line on the ground. He reiterates this succession of movements twice before a few people reach his side. At this point he turns and, facing them, keeps drawing an invisible line on the ground using both hands (example 6).

(6)

(7) | Sham: All the people at the back if you come forward please.

After establishing this first row of people standing, he encourages the rest of the crowd to move closer. To that end, he moves his arms, opening them in front of him and then bending them towards his chest (example 7).

For the next minute and a half the performer repeats these different movements towards all three sides of the performance space. On kerb, he assembles two or three rows of dense audience,

while on each side he forms a first row of audience without too many gaps between people. In the next three minutes, the rows grow denser and the flow of passers-by crossing the space stops.

Most performers actively organise the physical formation of the crowd in a way similar to Sham's. Those for whom this reorganisation takes the least amount of time follow a systematic process. First, they get people to stand up. By standing up, people are more easily mobile, and therefore will be more likely to respond to the following steps of the process which involve moving. Additionally, because those sitting are usually the people who are at the very front of the audience, getting them to stand up blocks the view of the people behind, forcing them to come close if they want to see the show.

Performers are aware of the importance of sightlines, and blocking the view of what is happening is a technique to force people to come and gather in close proximity instead of watching from afar. Sham, for example, stages a fake exciting moment. He asks a child on stage, displays a running chainsaw at his feet, and ask the audience to be loud for no reason other than to attract attention:

(8)

Sham: Folks, this is what we are gonna do. I'm gonna start this chainsaw. I'm gonna put the chainsaw down here, I'm gonna say "The Fantastic Peter" and Peter you're gonna do a bow. When he bows really go mad with applause. We want everyone to hear the noise. They will think something fantastic is happening right here, and they will come running over to see what's going on. Look around you'll see people doing this ((Sham mimics people standing on tiptoe in order to see what's happening)).

The point of interest in example 8 is Sham's mimicking of newcomers standing on tiptoes in order to see what is happening. When the audience is tightly formed, people move locally from one place to another in search of a spot offering good enough views of the performance. From where the performer stands, these repetitive movements appear as heads peering over others' shoulders or heads. This phenomenon is what Sam's mimics by tiptoeing. From an interactional point of view, the compact format of a dense audience and the resulting difficulty of seeing appears to decrease the acceptable interpersonal distance between strangers. This observation begins to draw attention to the question of how membership is established in an audience.

The second step to managing the layout of the audience is to arrange the people standing so that they form a neat line on each side of their performance space. This line is the first row of audience and delimits the boundaries of the stage. At the front, the kerb marks a natural boundary between the space of the performer and that of the audience. Most of the people the performer has to ask to stand up are seated on the kerb, so forming a front row there is usually a matter of

organising these people into a straighter line, making sure that the slope in the middle of the kerb is blocked. However, the interactional significance of this feature of the urban environment, and its affordance as a place to sit on, render attempts to move the front row closer to the performer difficult. For the sides, performers often need to get people from further away and to indicate the exact position where they should form a line. Getting people to stand side by side in a gap-free line further blocks the view of the people standing behind them. It also reduces the physical distance between unfamiliar individuals. Third, street performers ask the rest of the crowd to move forward, just behind the first neatly arranged front row of standing people. Once again, this action reduces the physical distance.

Phil, however, has difficulties shaping his audience. He first asks the people sitting on the kerb to move forward, up to the row of people sitting on the floor. No one responds to this request (example 9).

(9)

Phil: It's amazing that people still walk through the show at this stage isn't it? Heh OK can we stop that from happening?
Guys sitting down if you wanna sit can you just move up to here? OK, thanks yeah.

He then asks the people sitting on the floor to stand up in order to block the view of those sitting on the kerb. They all do (example 10). Phil then goes back to the people sitting on the kerb to try and make them stand up and move forwards. 4 of the people on the kerb do stand up, 3 of whom sit back down as soon as the performer moves away again. He then asks people standing on the kerb to move in the space between the first row and the kerb. A few of those standing immediately behind the people sitting on the kerb move forward and come stand behind the first row of people. Everyone else remains where they are and passers-by keep walking in the now slightly narrower corridor (example 11). Ultimately, the performer ends up re-organising each

side of the audience in a systematic manner.

(10)

Phil: OK OK OK I do it differently then OK. Everyone stand up! Stand up. Now you can't see hahaha

(11)

Phil: Come on chop chop let's move up to here yeah? That's it. I'll do all the hard work don't worry I'll just ask you to stand up yeah? ((raising gesture)) Guys, can you all move in cause I can see the problem I can see the people walking through we don't want people like this walking through. Just move in yeah? Thank you very much, that's great. Thank you. That's great, brilliant OK. It just saves time.

5.4 Conclusions

In Covent Garden, the audience that emerges in the absence of the performer's direct intervention is a crowd of people sitting on the kerb and groups scattered across the entire West Piazza. The neatly formed circle-like audience that Covent Garden passers-by experience all the time is something street performers have to work for. Most performers actively organise the physical formation of the crowd and those who are most successful at it, follow a systematic process.

Through placing objects in the middle of the street at the very beginning of their show, performers engender a sense that the street is being changed into something else. For people who are already on the piazza and are aware of the social situation established by the previous performer, this placement of objects acts as a sign that a new show will take place soon. As a result, they either resume an audience position or leave. However, those who are not aware of the performance situation that took place earlier, display no specific change of behaviour in response to the presence of these, potentially out-of-place, objects. The physical set-up of a stage is not sufficient to establishing a performance which is acknowledged by all. This raises the question of when and how newcomers and passers-by engage with the performance, and—crucially—what publicly observable behaviour they manifest. Chapter 6 introduces how some of the phenomena reviewed in Chapter 3 can be used as tools for analysis in order to reveal the interactional significance of the performers' actions and techniques.

C. Clark and Pinch (1995) (see section 3.1.3) discuss the way market pitchers and street performers alike "build an edge". However, their use of the term edge refers either to the crowd of people or to a form of financial advantage. They seems to overlook the physical denotation of the term in their definition of edge, despite giving many examples of how traders move people closer or how lines marked on the ground create barriers. Throughout, this chapter has demonstrated that street performers actively work towards establishing the physical limit, or edge, of the performance area. The kerb is a natural edge of the performance space. Audience members systematically recognised it as such and align their position with it. Ropes are often used to try and demarcate edges on the side of the space. However, ropes define looser edges than the kerb as audience members mainly use them as an indication of where not to position themselves. They do no necessarily align themselves with the position of the ropes.

The position of people is the element most consistently acknowledged as the edge of the performance space, both by members of the audience and by passers-by. The building of this physical edge is also what performers work towards when placing people around the performance space. The careful formation of a first row of people on three sides of the performance space indicates to others where to stand. Comparatively, the amount of audience management required to further grow the audience once this edge of people is established is minimal. It provides evidence that people make sense of the performance space through the physical layout of the audience assembled around it.

The separation between the audience and the performers is an ongoing debate (see Chapter 2). In Western modern theatre this separation is often physically exemplified by theatre architecture (see Chapter 3) and lighting conventions. But maybe the physical distance between stage and auditorium is not a preference or choice of the performer only. The interactional significance of the kerb in Covent Garden and the resistance street performers encounter if they try to get the audience to move in closer to the performance area contribute to the idea that audiences may need this distance too.

The fact that most performers, in Covent Garden and elsewhere (C. Clark & Pinch, 1995, p.240), actively organise the people who have stopped into a tightly packed crowd, shows that the formation of the crowd is important for the success of the performance. C. Clark and Pinch argue that a tighter formation of the audience prevents passers-by from straying into the performance area. Although it is true that for passers-by, the physical layout of the audience is an indication of where to walk, many of the performers recorded shape the formation of the audience after the flow of passers-by has stopped. Phil's example is an isolated one, and the only one in the corpus where a performer marks the action of walking amongst the audience. What Phil is really marking is the position of passers-by in space, but the lack of response of these passers-by shows that it takes more than regulating a physical area to establish a performance space acknowledged by all. The physical boundaries that a circle-like formation of the audience create are insufficient to explain why Covent Garden performers make re-organising the layout of the audience such an important part of their performance.

The f-formation can help shed some light on the necessary shaping of the audience. According to Kendon (2010), the initial "side-by-side" formation for the audience that arises spontaneously is quite different from the "common-focus" gathering that results from the performer's shaping of the audience. While the former is still an egalitarian formation in which "the participants are jointly concerned about something that *is* in the immediate environment" (p.9), the latter displays an "unequal distribution of rights to initiate talk or action" (p.11). Chapter 7 further analyses some of these interactions to reveal how the process of shaping the audience constructs this distribution of rights.

Chapter 6

Displaying a Performance:

"We shall now transform these cobbles into a theatre!"

—Alex—

The performer's actions examined in the previous chapter, although they might be performative, are not designed as performance, or as an act. Considering that they must manage all the different aspects of the performance themselves, street performers must design certain actions as part of the performance while others are simply supporting it. How do street performers make their actions recognisable as the pre-cursors to a performance and not, for example, just as anomalous behaviour?

This chapter addresses this question by successively considering three layers of interaction. The first section examines the performers' actions; how they are designed to announce a performance and how they differ from the type of space management actions presented in Chapter 5. The second section investigates the effect these actions have on individual passers-by; how they are made accountable and are conducive to the gathering of an audience. The third section addresses interaction amongst passers-by; how passers-by collaboratively make sense of the situation of the performance.

6.1 Announcements

Covent Garden street performers make repeated announcements about what they are about to do or what they will be doing later in the show. In the previous chapter for example, Alex and Jim comment on their use of a rope to create a space (see example 1, p. 78), but more importantly, through the way they verbally present the rope, they announce their transformation of street into something else—a theatre.

Below is a selection of such announcements, chosen amongst the excerpts analysed later on in this thesis (the excerpts are presented here in a simplified version of the transcription). Some of these announcements take place early in the show and are part of the preparation stage of the performance (example 12). Through these announcements, the preparation actions of the performer achieve something more than just physically setting up the stage. By announcing what they are about to do, performers construct these actions as part of the performance.

(12)
Paul: When you're a street performer you don't have a stage or an audience ready you've gotta kind of like make them all happen so I'm gonna try and do that.

Very often, performers repeatedly announce throughout the show that their big trick is coming up, and they present what this finale is (example 13).

(13)
Mark: Very soon guys for the grand finale I juggle a full speed running chainsaw. I also juggle under my leg. I also juggle it behind my back, and sometimes I make mistakes and cut chunks of flesh from my limbs.

In other cases, these announcements are about telling the audience about a specific trick or act the performer is about to perform (example 14).

(14)
Sham: Folks, this is what we are gonna do. I'm gonna start this chainsaw. I'm gonna put the chainsaw down here, I'm gonna say "The Fantastic Peter" and Peter you're gonna do a bow.

But these announcements are not necessarily made verbally. They also take the form of actions and gesture, and these constitute the primary concern of this section. The same way a verbal announcement can construct an action as performance, the design of actions and gestures themselves can also construct them as an announcement or as especially performative.

Sham, for example, introduces the balls he will be juggling with by saying "and now juggling with my balls for your amusement". At that moment, he is positioned in the middle of the piazza. He then puts the balls on the floor. To that effect, he performs a theatrical bow with his arms wide open, his legs straight, and bending from the waist as low he can. He raises back up with a similar

(a) (b)

Figure 6.1: Sham holding a gesture waiting for reactions in the audience. Sham presents (a) three balls and (b) a unicycle.

dramatic emphasis to his gesture, and stands in a still position with one arm pointing towards the balls on the floor and the other raised in the air (Figure 6.1a).

Shortly after, he goes under the portico and he runs back on stage, pushing a unicycle to the front of the stage. He stops facing the kerb and takes a similar position to before. His left hand holds the top of the unicycle while the right hand points towards its wheel (Figure 6.1b).

This theatrical display of the balls and the unicycle differs from the simple placement of, for example, the trunk or the sound system in the previous chapter (Chapter 5). Although the ball and the unicycle are being used later in the show, and are therefore part of the physical set-up of the stage, the gestural emphasis of the performer in presenting them clearly indicates another function. Here, the presentation of the object itself is a display of the situation as performance.

Like gestures, verbal noises can be designed to announce the performance. In his second show, Mark starts by setting up his microphone. The first sounds it emits resemble a white noise or a hushing sound ("shh shh"). It is closely followed by a second succession of hushes and a succession of hellos. During the whole sequence, Mark is bent over his sound system. He initiates a raising motion on the third "hello" and stands facing the audience. Then he says "hello" another time before commenting on a baby he hears cry.

Prima facie, the succession of "hellos" can be interpreted as a purely functional sequence used to test that the microphone is working. However, before the sound got amplified, Mark was already hushing to test the microphone. This suggests that the "shh shhs" are the primary testing sounds. The switch to "hello" is designed for a different purpose, that is, to announce to the people around that a performance is about to happen. As Mark switches to "hello", he also performs a change in posture and body orientation. By raising and taking an audience facing

position, the performer further displays the "hellos" as addressed to a third party and not just as random microphone-testing noises.

The significance of facing the audience in order to present actions as part of a performance is further demonstrated by the analysis of Mark's head orientation. A detailed annotation of the amount of time the performer spends with his head oriented towards the audience or away from it was performed. In the first five minute period during which the performer appears to be preparing for his show rather than displaying a performance, Mark's head is rarely up and oriented towards the audience. More importantly, when he does orient his head towards the audience, it lasts for less than 5 seconds. Conversely, in the following four minutes the pattern reverses. Rare are the moments where the performer's head is not oriented towards the audience. When they occur, these moments last for less than 5 seconds. These two inverse patterns alternate throughout the recording, but the subsequent moments where he is mainly not orienting to the audience are much shorter than this initial one. So it appears that during an *act* the performer is generally looking at the audience while during a *preparation phase* he is not. Additionally, throughout the show, the performer alternates between moments where he prepares for an act and the act itself.

These observations, along with the commentaries performers make (like those in examples 12 to 14), begin to reveal a general structure of Covent Garden street performances. This structure follows the general pattern of a set-up phase, during which performers place material in the street, followed by the performance per se. The performance in itself is constituted of a succession of acts leading to a finale. Each of these acts is preceded by an announcement phase. Although the announcement phase may include some set-up of material, unlike the first set-up, this set-up is performed or displayed to the audience as part of the performance.

The importance that performers orient themselves to display that they are performing is further demonstrated by the duo Alex and Jim. Alex and Jim's beginning differs from that of most other performers. Their set-up phase takes place exclusively under the portico. When they come out from under the portico and enter the performance space, the duo gives the impression of being already 'in character'. What exactly in their gestures and actions differs?

Looking closely at the beginning of the recording, Alex and Jim prepare their material and microphones while the previous performer is picking up his material. However, during this preparation, at no point do they come out from under the portico onto the piazza. By doing so they make their set-up less noticeable. During that time, they never orient their heads directly towards

the audience. When they first come out from under the portico, they stand between the two central columns, their bodies are straight, their chins are up and they face the audience.

Alex first orients toward a girl seated on the kerb between the column and asks her to move slightly. Resuming his orientation towards the audience, he then comments on the presence of pigeons on the piazza—which he refers to as chicken—in a voice much louder than before (see Figure 6.2). The fact that Alex resumes his orientation towards the audience before mentioning that they normally start from that position shows that he accounts for his action not only to the girl, but to the entire audience. At the same time, he announces to the entire audience that they are about to begin. This announcement is emphasised by the absence of pause between his interaction with the girl and his comment about the pigeons. Additionally, both performers stand out from the crowd by their straight posture and loud voice, which, combined with the fact that they face the audience, clearly marks out their actions as being designed for the audience.

(15)

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Alex:  ((to a girl seated on the kerb between the columns))
       would you mind just shuffling a little way that way so
       we just
       ((to the audience)) hum it's our traditional place where
       we start=oh no THE CHICKENS ARE BACK
```

Figure 6.2: Alex and Jim at the beginning of their performance.

Some performances do not allow for a clearly marked entrance due to the type of act they are based on. This is the case in particular for performers who use a technique that consists of singling out passers-by by following them across the piazza while caricaturing them, or playing tricks on them. The mobile quality of these performances requires the performer to (a) make himself noticeable to other passers-by and potential audience members so that they easily distinguish him

from the crowd of passers-by; and (b) allow the audience to clearly identify the moments intended as comical and the moments of preparation.

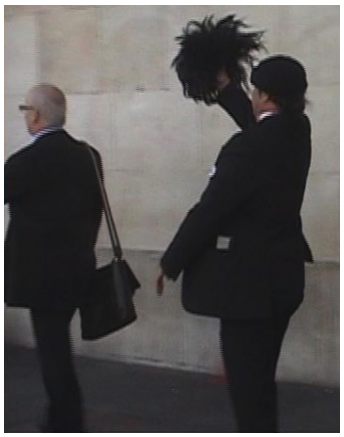


Figure 6.3: Richard caricaturing a passer-by.

Richard mainly caricatures people, following them as they cross the performance space or walk under the portico. Sometimes, he uses accessories he takes out of a case he has placed on the piazza in a position similar to section 5.2.2. For example, he follows a bald man holding a wig behind the man's head (Figure 6.3). Using accessories means he has to regularly come back to the centre of the piazza to put his accessory away or take out a new one. A traditional way to handle these transitions in an indoor theatre would be for the performer to walk off stage to the wings, take an accessory away from the audience's view, and walk back on stage. Richard does not have this option. He solves the issue by changing his gait and posture. Three steps can be identified in the process: (a) announcing to the audience that he is about to perform a parody, (b) performing the parody, and (c) changing accessories and/or preparing for the next sequence.

From the beginning of his show, when he prepares for an interaction, Richard's gait is dynamic and moderately rapid. He walks with his shoulders and head slightly brought forward (Figure 6.4, frame 1). His head is directed towards whatever person or object he is focusing his attention on, with no particular emphasis towards the audience. When he is about to perform a parody, he straightens himself, thrusts out his chest, and raises his chin. As he performs this change of posture, he orients his head towards the audience first (Figure 6.4, frame 2) and then towards his next target (Figure 6.4, frame 3). On occasion, he repeats this head motion more than once (Figure 6.4, frame 4). He then walks towards his target keeping his chest thrust out and his chin up (Figure 6.4, frame 5), and follows them leaving 1 to 2 metres between them. Throughout the caricature, Richard keeps this straight posture of the upper body and adopts a pace generally

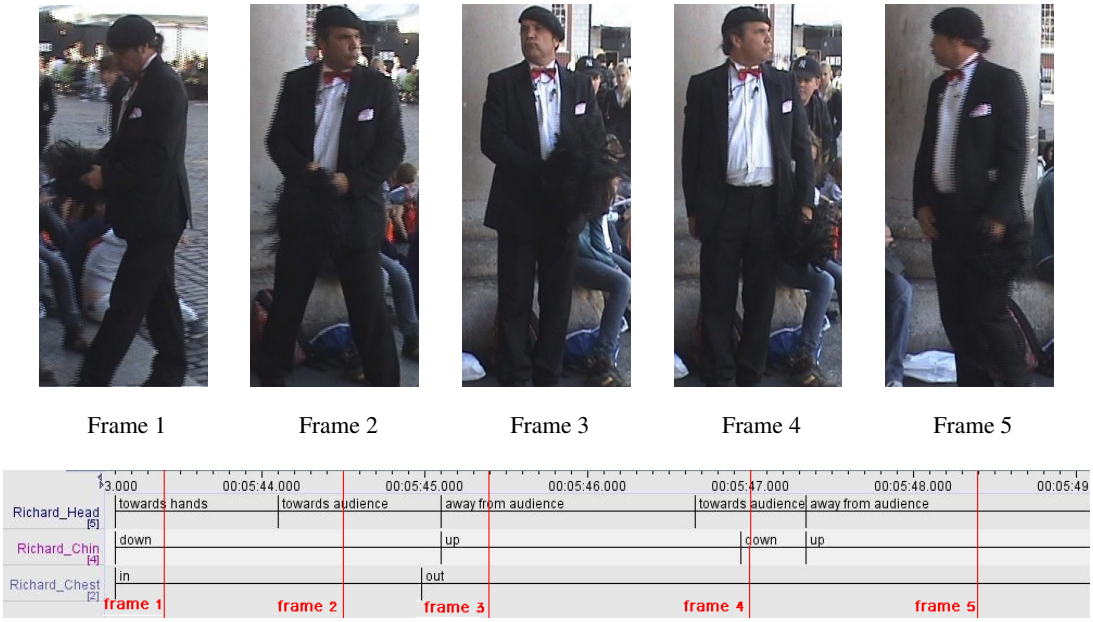


Figure 6.4: Change of posture of the head, chin and chest as Richard prepares to perform a parody.

slower than the one he had previously. When the comedy part is over, he resumes his initial gait until he is ready to follow the next passer-by.

Richard uses accessories and costumes as markers to make himself easier to visually follow among the crowd. However, these cannot help the audience identify with certainty who the performer is following, what trait he is caricaturing, nor whether he is preparing or acting. To that end, Richard uses head orientation as a way to demonstrate to the audience that he is about to perform, and to give clues as to whom he is about to follow. Additionally, by alternating between a civilian gait and a performance gait, Richard brackets the act itself.

This change in gait is not exclusive to performers who have to leave their main stage area. Jim and Alex for example, adopt a gait during most of the performance which differs from the gait they have when setting up at the very beginning or after the audience has dispersed. Alex walks making very small steps, keeping his legs close together and his arms against his body, while Jim walks at a fast pace exaggeratedly balancing his arms, his elbows slightly bent and raised away from his body. During the performance, they sometimes lose these performance gaits and resume to their civilian gait. This happens in particular as they transition between juggling acts or when something goes wrong. For example, throughout the beginning of the show, Jim's microphone makes a crackling noise, causing him to go back under the portico to try and fix it.

He walks out of the stage area using his civilian gait. As he walks back in, still in his civilian gait, his head is oriented towards the ground while he finishes adjusting his microphone. Once he is done, he raises his head up again, browses the audience with a left-to-right head movement, touches his face and comes to a halt. He then changes direction and starts walking again, this time re-adopting his performance gait. In his re-entry, Jim looks like he has lost track of where he was, and suddenly realises he is in the middle of the performance space again. Through stopping and changing direction for no apparent reason, he marks his realisation of the social situation he has walked in.

6.2 Recognition of Performance

Figure 6.5: Change of orientation of a passer-by in response to Alex and Jim's beginning.

Passers-by are sensitive to Jim and Alex's appearance in the performance space. In Figure 6.5, the passer-by holding a red bag in front of him arrives from the left of the camera's field of view. He approaches the performance space as if wanting to cross it (Figure 6.5, frame 1). When Alex says "oh no", he turns his head towards the performers and initiates a U-turn (Figure 6.5, frames

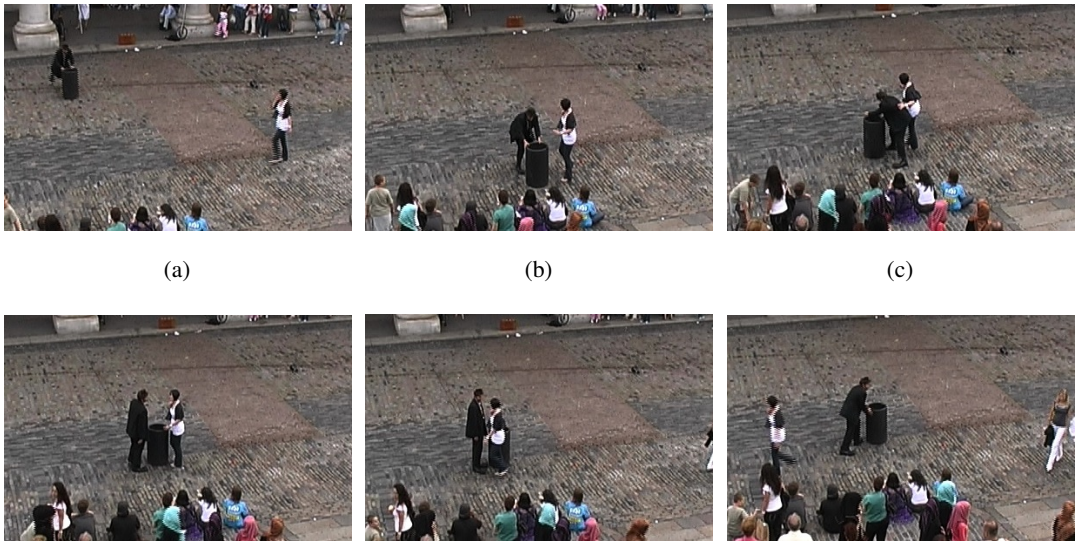
2 and 3). He then walks away from the space (Figure 6.5, frame 4). This man's behaviour is not isolated. As illustrated in Figure 6.2, the flow of passers-by in the performance space has been continuous until now. By the end of the duo's entrance, this flow has completely stopped (Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6: Alex and Jim's performance space at the end of Alex's turn (see example 15). Passers-by are not crossing the space anymore.

Objects can also be used to regulate the space. Sham for example, moves a bin from the side of the road into the middle of the street. At the same moment, a woman starts crossing the space. Sham notices her, adjusts his trajectory still pushing the bin (Figure 6.7a), and moves it so that he ends up placing it right in front of her, blocking her way (Figure 6.7b). As she tries to go around him, he turns around, moving the bin so that she cannot pass (Figure 6.7c). They confront each other (Figure 6.7d and Figure 6.7e) before she walks away (Figure 6.7f).

The open confrontation Sham carries out with the woman renders passing-by as a socially marked and sanctioned action. By establishing the accountability of those who cross the performance space, performers attempt to police the space and to prevent more people from straying through it. The presence of the bin in the middle of the street is not sufficient to regulate the flow of passers-by. This particular interaction with the bin however, successfully achieves this since the people walking behind her (entering in the right-hand side on Figure 6.7f) change direction and leave the performance area through the ramp in the middle of the kerb, without any action from the performer towards them.

The complexity of these interactions extends even further. Although mockeries are usually aimed at a specific person or group of persons who cross or are about to cross the performance



(a) (b) (c)

(d) (e) (f)

Figure 6.7: Sham using a bin as a tool to regulate the flow of passers-by.

space, they can also deter other passers-by from entering the space in the first place.

Frame 1 Frame 2 Frame 3 Frame 4

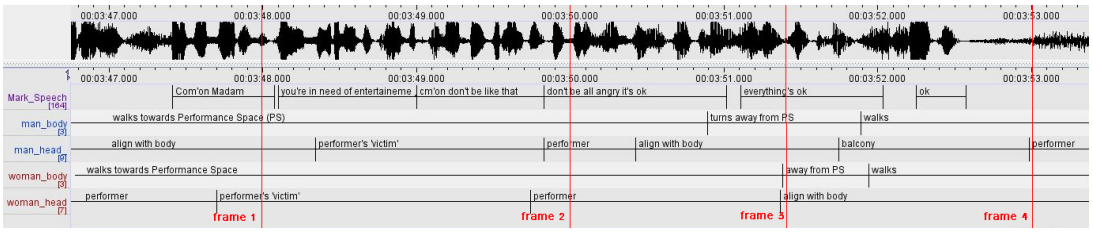


Figure 6.8: A couple changing direction as Mark comments on a woman who is about to cross the space.

In Mark's show for example, a couple enters the field of view of the camera as the performer is picking on someone who is about to cross the performance space. The couple initially walks towards the performer paying little attention to the show. The woman is the first one to acknowl-

edge the presence of the performer as she looks in his direction and then turns her head towards the performer's target (Figure 6.8, frame 1). As she turns her head towards the victim, she slightly re-orients her body, increasing her orientation towards the performer. The man, who was until now looking in front of him, turns his head in the same direction as his partner, towards the target (Figure 6.8, frame 2). He then glances at the performer, before resetting his head to look in front of him as he turns away from the performer (Figure 6.8, frame 3). This change of body orientation from her partner causes the woman to turn her head so that she looks in front of her. She then aligns her body orientation to his and they both walk away avoiding the performance space (Figure 6.8, frame 4).

Arguably, all direct interactions between the performer and individual passers-by are an attempt to regulate the flow of pedestrians and prevent passers-by from straying through the performance space. Chapter 7 examines some of these interactions in more detail, and shows how they are also often designed for a third party.

The presentation of objects is also an essential part of gathering an audience. Before Mark starts his chainsaw, he stands just behind it and gestures with his arms. His elbows are raised at shoulder height on each side of his body, his wrists are in extension with his palms opened flat in front of him, and he extends and flexes his forearms in front of him repetitively (Figure 6.9a). He initially uses both arms simultaneously, while looking at the passers-by. This specific gesture does not produce any noticeable effect on passers-by. The only salient performer-audience interaction at that moment occurs when a woman crosses the space with her head oriented towards Mark. Mark notices it as his head follows her move. He orients his gesture towards her using only the arm closer to her. The woman acknowledges the performer with a smile and keeps walking.

Then Mark starts to interact with the chainsaw. He focuses on getting the chainsaw running by pulling the cord. He is bent towards the chainsaw and his head is oriented towards the ground. He is not looking at the passers-by anymore. During this action, some passers-by start showing a different type of response; that is, they initiate a body torque, some even stop.

As soon as the chainsaw is running, Mark rises, with the running chainsaw in his right hand, and directs his attention back to the passers-by. He scans the people on the piazza with a right-to-left head movement. He then resumes the extension-flexion arm gesture described before, using his left arm only (Figure 6.9b). This time, the people who have stopped in the middle of the space and are watching move backwards. They position themselves in alignment with the people already

(a) (b)

Figure 6.9: Mark's pushing away gesture (a) without and (b) with a chainsaw in his hands.

seated on the kerb.

Through his gesture, Mark presents the chainsaw in a particular way, that is, as dangerous. The fact that the performer is checking who is looking at his gesture, and orients it accordingly, constitutes evidence that the gesture is designed for a specific type of people; that is, the passers-by who have or might transition from lookers to watchers, hence becoming potential audience members. In this case, only the combination of the object and the gesture has an effect on passers-by. The noise made by the chainsaw as it starts is a first technique to attract attention from the passers-by and get them to look towards the performer. Doubled-up with the performer's gesture, the running chainsaw becomes an audience-shaping tool. It invites newcomers to become part of the audience. As they start to understand the social situation the performer is trying to establish, newcomers align with those who are already part of the audience.

The importance of displaying actions in a specific way to attract an audience is further illustrated by Paul's example. Paul begins his show standing on a trunk and verbally interacting with passers-by (a detailed analysis of these interactions is presented in Chapter 7). Even though his voice is amplified by a microphone and he is in a raised position, he is not succeeding in getting people to stop and watch nor in preventing passers-by from crossing the space in front of him. Passers-by orient their heads towards him, one even engages in a short conversation with him, but they all keep their primary course of action unchanged. They are not responding to his actions as a performance, in the sense that they are not joining as audience members.

This refers us back to Goffman's idea that people play roles (see Chapter 3), and if they do

not take this role-playing seriously enough, and fail assume the characteristics associated with their role, the illusion breaks. The impression people try to foster collapses along with the support of their teammates. In a way, this is what happens to Paul. He does not come across as 'in character' in the sense that his gesture and bodily interactions are those of Paul, the average Joe, and not of Paul, the performer. Later however, passers-by start to take notice of him, and exhibit behaviours similar to the man in Figure 6.5. The flow of pedestrians crossing the performance space eventually stops and an audience begins to gather. What changes in Paul's interactions enable this transition?

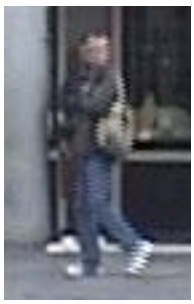
After three minutes spent asking individual passers-by to stop and watch his show, Paul changes his technique. He gets off his trunk and comments "I'm just gonna make a bit of noise first. See if we can attract a bit more of an audience and then we'll get started with more stuff." He then starts playing some music. The music itself does not create any change of reaction among the passers-by crossing the space. He then moves his trunk towards the middle of the street. He stands next to it, facing the crowd, and performs a series of movements. Unlike before, his shoulder blades are pulled back and his chin is slightly raised, making him look taller and straighter. He jumps from one foot to the other six times, circles his arms on each side of his body twice, opens and closes them in front of him three times, shrugs his shoulders once and finally bends, keeping his legs straight to touch his toes. He performs this routine making staged glances towards the audience. The glances are made with an exaggerated rotation of the neck, keeping his chin up, as if to display to the passers-by that he is looking at them. During the 30 seconds that it takes him to complete this series of actions, four people have stopped to watch and, most importantly, the flow of pedestrians crossing the performance space stops.

Paul's routine resembles an athlete's warm-up routine, but it is designed as a performance rather than as a warm-up. The number of repetitions of his movements is probably too small to have any real use as a warm-up and the speed of the motion is exaggerated. Additionally, his constant checking of people looking at his routine shows his awareness that people are or may be watching him. This in turn makes explicit the fact that his actions are designed to be watched.

One way to tell if and how passers-by engage with the performance is through the analysis of body torque (see section 3.2.2). Body torque displays engagement in multiple activities or courses-of-actions from its bearer through divergent orientations of the lower and upper body segments. A torque also provides a ranking of these activities as one activity is inserted into

another one. The lower part of the body orients towards the primary activity while the interruptive newer activity is identified through the orientation of the upper part of the body (Schegloff, 1998). An analysis of the passers'-by body torque provides a more fine-grained way of determining degrees of engagement. The assumption is that lookers display changes of upper body segments only while watchers re-orient their entire body.

Frame 1



Frame 2

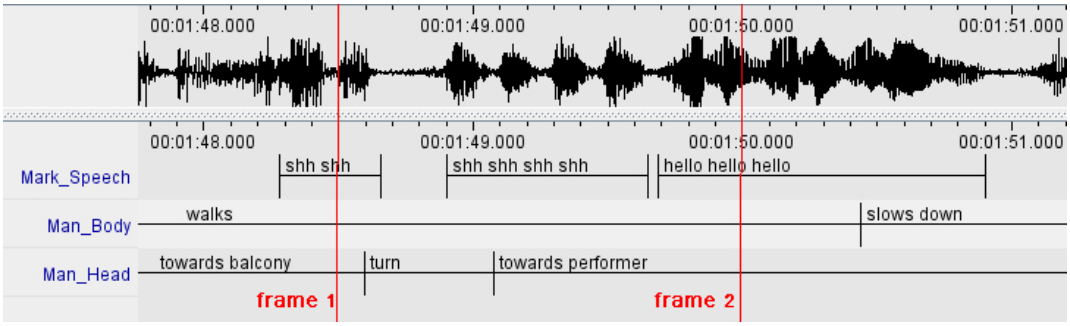


Figure 6.10: Change of orientation of a man as Mark makes a series of sounds.

Coming back to Mark's early interaction and microphone testing (see section 6.1), the second piece of interactional evidence that his shift from "shh" to "hello" is a device for engaging people rather than just testing equipment is provided by the way this transition is integrated with the responses of the passers-by. The man in Figure 6.10 enters the camera's field of view directing his attention towards the balcony above him. His head is oriented away from the camera with an upward inclination. On the first "shh shh" his head abruptly turns towards the camera, in direction of the origin of the sound, while he keeps walking at the same pace. This fast change of head orientation demonstrates a shift of attention from the scene on the balcony to the event that triggered the sound. His walk slows down on the second succession of hushes, nearly coming to a halt towards the end of the series of hellos. He regains his initial pace after he has turned his head away from the sounds, and oriented it in direction of the balcony above him. This reset to

the initial position shows the man's interest remains in what is happening on the balcony.

The head and shoulders of the man are the only segments which orientation changed throughout the scene. Such body engagement, along with the decrease in pace, show a form of early assessment of the potential interest of the performance. However, at no point does the man change his initial course of action to realign to a new activity.

The next example shows how passers-by display their willingness to engage as an audience through a complete re-orientation of the body. At the same moment as the previous example, two girls also react to Mark's address. Before any sound is heard, Girl1 (on the right of the frames in Figure 6.11) is coming down the step facing backwards while Girl2 (on the left of the frames in Figure 6.11) attempts to kick a pigeon with her left leg as she comes down the step. At the first "shh shh" Girl1 immediately turns her head towards the origin of the sound, shifting her attention away from controlling her backward descent and onto the origin of the sound. Girl2 who was looking at Girl1, stops walking and turns her head in the same direction as Girl1. In the meantime, Girl1 has turned her body around, now facing forward. She starts walking, followed by Girl2. Girl1 says "hoo" in response to Mark's hellos, triggering Girl2 to look in her direction. It is unclear if Girl2 addresses Girl1 at this moment, but Girl1 adjusts her orientation to walk in direction of the performer, closely followed by Girl2.

The sound coming out of the microphone initiates a body torque for both the man and Girl1. However, the man resolves his torque by resuming to his initial course of action while Girl1 re-orients towards the performance. This difference shows each of them perceives the interaction differently. On the one hand, the first girl's response to the performer's "hello" shows that she considers herself a direct recipient of the interaction. The man, on the other hand, acts as a side participant; the torque of his upper body shows that he assesses the situation and is aware of it, however, he decides to not fully engage in the interaction. This difference of reaction directly impacts the performer's actions. As soon as Mark notices the two girls walking in his direction, he looks at them and addresses them with "Hey! Hi guys!". This interaction causes the two girls to turn around and go position themselves with the audience members on the kerb.

6.3 The Collaborative Decision of Watching

Since the beginning of this chapter, examples of coordination amongst passers-by have been presented in order to illustrate specific points of the performer's interactions. For instance, the

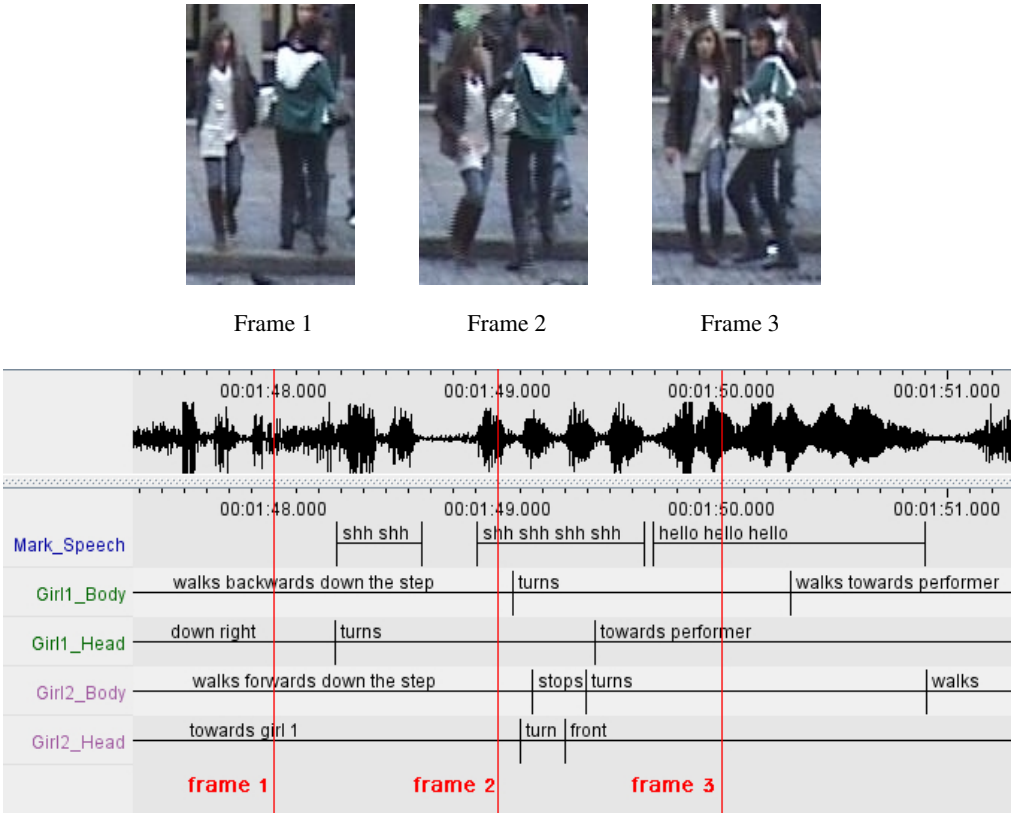


Figure 6.11: Change of orientation of two girls in response to sounds produced by Mark. Girl1 is on the right hand side of the image, Girl2 on the left hand side.

previous example presenting the interaction of two girls as they approach Mark's performance and stop to watch serves as a contrast with the example of the man who did not stop to watch, and illustrates the way passers-by display their interest in the performance through body orientation. However, the way each girl monitors the other's actions and adjusts her own body orientation in response has not yet been addressed. This sections examines how in groups, the decision of watching is taken collaboratively.

Amongst the first people who stop to watch in response to Mark starting his chainsaw are a man and a boy wearing light-blue shirts and entering the scene from the left-hand side of the camera (Figure 6.12a). Mark has been trying to start his chainsaw for ten seconds when the boy and the man appear in the camera's field of view. The chainsaw is making a repetitive clapping noise as Mark is pulling the cord (about once every 0.6 second). For the first three seconds the boy and the man appear to be engaged in a conversation, and display no evident sign of paying attention to what is going on around them. They are walking, their bodies oriented towards their destination, their shoulders are aligned with their hips and their heads slightly turned towards each

other. The torque of their bodies is not very marked, suggesting that they are acknowledging each other's presence but are mainly engaged in their motion.

As Mark stops to pull the cord of his chainsaw for 2.5 seconds the man turns his head towards the performer accompanied by a slight rotation of his shoulders (Figure 6.12b). This movement is initiated 0.6 second after the first missing pull, probably in response to a noticeable change in the background noise. After 1 second, he resets his head and shoulders to their original position. The man then orients his body towards the left (Figure 6.12c), indicating he is about to change direction to turn towards the market. At that moment Mark's chainsaw makes a purring slightly longer than all the previous ones. The man turns his head towards the performer, followed by his shoulder, his trunk, his hips and his right foot and stands having performed a rotation of 45 degrees to the right. It is only when the chainsaw is properly running that the man re-orients his lower body, completing his 90-degree rotation and now facing the performer (Figure 6.12f). His right foot drives this re-alignment. He brings it backward next to the left one, hence resolving the body torque and anchoring himself in a stable standing position.

(a) (b) (c)

(d) (e) (f)

Figure 6.12: Evolution of the posture of two passers-by (a man and a boy) through time.

Unlike the man, the boy's movement to re-orient his body and face the performer is initiated

by the positioning of his feet. The boy has been looking in the direction of the performer since soon after entering the camera's field of view. His head is oriented towards the performer while his body remains in alignment with his initial activity and direction (Figure 6.12d). He rapidly performs a rotation of 90 degrees to the right starting with orienting his right foot, followed by the left one. His hips, torso and finally shoulders come in alignment soon after (Figure 6.12e). He comes to a halt fully facing the performer.

In this example, although the changes in background noise first attract the attention of the passers-by, it is only when they see the performer interact with the object that they stop and re-orient towards him. In the case of the boy, feet initiate the gesture. For the man, the completion takes longer and is initiated by the head leading the shoulders, the torso and finally the feet. This difference in rapidity and lead segment signifies different initial levels of engagement with the performance. The boy appears eager to watch the performance while the man's engagement with the performance is more progressive.

Another example of collaborative watching is featured by the couple in Figure 6.13, extracted from Paul's show. The couple enters the scene as music starts playing, without paying any attention to the performer. First, the man glances towards the performer, turning his head in the direction of the performer and back (Figure 6.13, frame 1). This first head turn comes as Paul is moving his trunk, in response to the banging noise made by the trunk as it hits the ground. Second, the woman orients her head towards the performer (Figure 6.13, frame 2), in response to her partner's movement. Unlike him, she slows down and keeps her head oriented towards the performer for some time. As she resets her head orientation and pace she gives a quick glance in direction of her partner. She then looks again towards the performer (Figure 6.13, frame 3), a movement that triggers her partner to look in the same direction as her and slow down. Finally, she looks at her partner who then re-orients his body towards the performance, closely followed by her. They both stop to watch.

The decision to stop and watch is not made by one or the other member of the couple. Instead, invitations are made in turn and the subsequent behaviour depends on the reaction of the other member. For example, the woman's action of slowing down while looking in the direction of the performer is a invitation to the man to stop and watch. This is backed up by the glance the woman makes towards the man immediately afterwards. The man was not paying attention to her body signals, and she re-iterates her invitation by looking in the direction of the performer a

Figure 6.13: A couple who stops and watches Paul's warm-up routine. Frames 1 to 4 show the evolution of the couple's orientation. The transcripts represent the orientation of the man's and the woman's head and body throughout the sequence.

second time. The man in turn picks up on her invitation and responds to it by re-orienting his body towards the performance. As demonstrated in the example of the man and the boy (Figure 6.12), the orientation of different segments of the body display different levels of engagement. Hence, the orientation of the head and the upper segments of the body display an interest or a proposition, whilst the orientation of the lower segments of the body display a more definite decision.

There are striking resemblances between the sequence of actions of each member of the couple, and that of the man who did not stop in Figure 6.10. Each of them first performs a head turn in the direction of the performance followed by a reduced pace. As they slow down, they evaluate the situation and make a decision about whether or not to stop and watch. However, in the case of the couple, the decision is distributed and as well as displaying their interest in watching the performance they must also register their partner's signs of interest.

Another example of these group dynamics is extracted from Bruce's show. At the back of the kerb, four women can be seen walking in a diamond-like formation, all of them with their heads oriented towards the performance (Figure 6.14a). As they approach the middle of the kerb, W1 slows down slightly, immediately followed by W2 (Figure 6.14b). W3 and W4 close in and the diamond-like formation becomes much smaller. W2 then re-orients her head in alignment with her shoulders immediately followed by W4 (Figure 6.14c).

Next, W1 re-orients her head too and accelerates (Figure 6.14d). She then turns around towards W2 and stops facing the performance (Figure 6.14e). In response, W2 comes and stands next to her, shoulder to shoulder (Figure 6.14f). W3 and W4 perform the same re-orientation and stand just behind, in staggered rows with W1 and W2 (Figure 6.14g). In response to W4's proximity to her, W2 takes one step forward (Figure 6.14h), soon imitated by W1 (Figure 6.14i).

W3 then moves in front and aligns herself with W1 and W2 (Figure 6.14j), which triggers first W1 and then W2 to re-organise their formation (Figure 6.14k). Finally, W4 moves closer to the three others and stands just behind W1 who reacts by taking one step forward. W3 responds by slightly adjusting her body orientation with the effect that the three women are now in a line (Figure 6.14l).

Like the previous examples, the first signs of interest the women display are a head orientation and a slower pace. Although the decision to stop and watch seems to be carried out mainly between W1 and W2, the position they adopt to watch requires subtle adjustment between the four of them. Each of the women negotiates her own position with respect to the physical proximity of the others and the overall formation of the group. For both W1 and W2, the acceptable interpersonal distance seems to be smaller if others are standing next to them than if they are standing behind them (Hall, 1963). Unlike the pairs presented below, W1 and W2 do not glance at each other to coordinate their approach. It may be that W1 plays a leadership role within the group of women.

6.4 Conclusions

Announcing that something is about to happen is an important part of street performance acts and probably plays a role in getting and keeping the audience's interest. Although many of these announcements are done verbally (see beginning of section 6.1), their importance is revealed by the amount of non-speech interaction that performers put into them. Announcements are not just about telling the audience that a particularly impressive trick is coming next. They are more importantly a way to display to everyone that a performance is taking place. Announcements serve to frame the situation as performance and in doing so, help create the performance space.

In most shows, the moment where passers-by stop crossing the performance area is striking. It is not a gradual process. One moment, the performance area and the street space are one same interactional space; the following moment, passers-by acknowledge the performance area as marking a special interaction space and walk around it. In many cases, like it is the case for Jim and Alex's show, this moment happens without any change to the physical elements of the space. The change in the passers'-by behaviour occurs in response to a change in the way performers

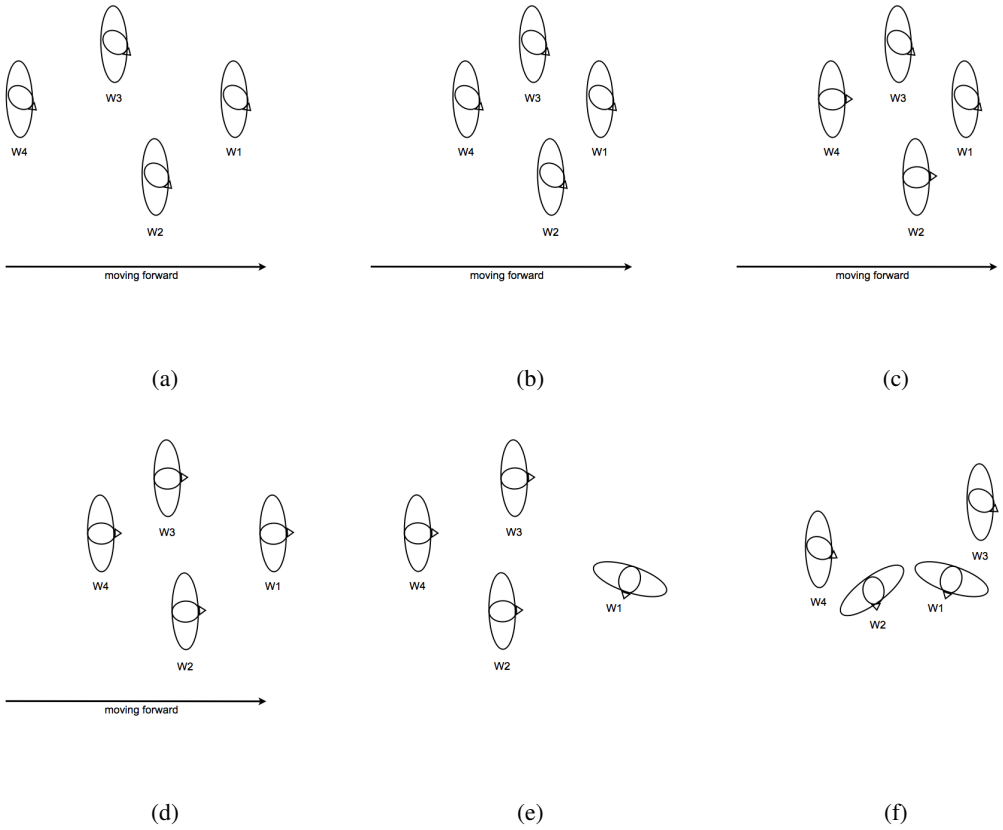


Figure 6.14: Schematic representation of 4 women (W1 to W4) collaboratively stopping to watch.

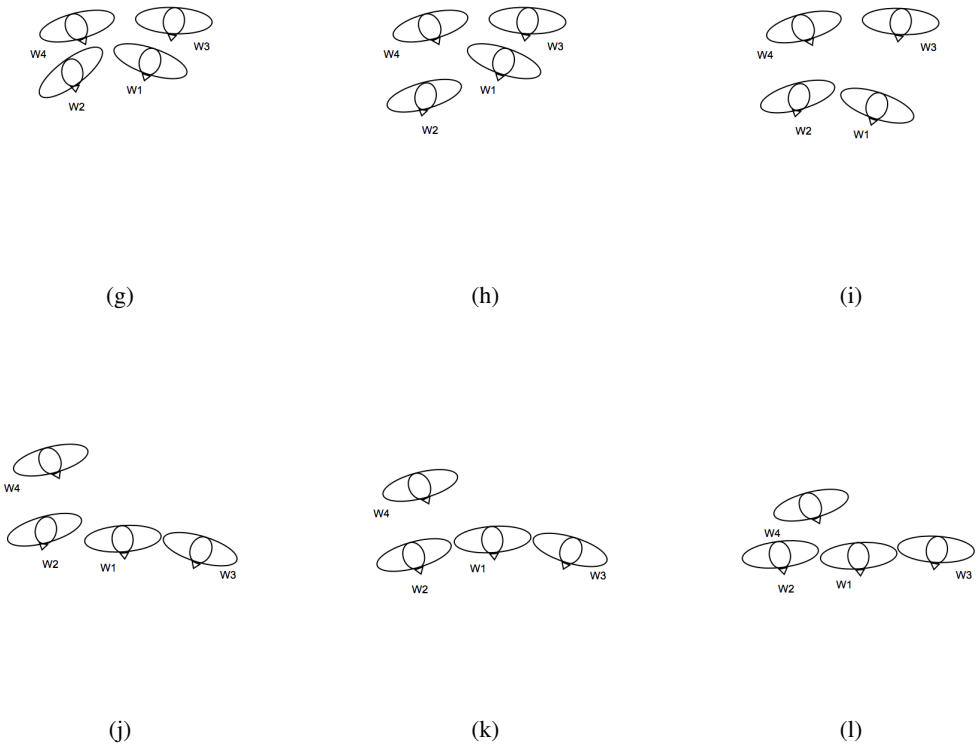


Figure 6.14 continued.

display their actions. It reveals interaction as a fundamental feature for creating a performance space that is acknowledged by all.

In the absence of separation between stage and auditorium the audience get greater proximity to the action, but are crucially not part of it in the main. The way street performers handle those who cross their stage make this separation explicit to a degree well beyond what a conventional theatre actor would do. This thesis argues that the distraction the act of crossing the performance space constitutes is only part of the reason why access to the stage has to be restricted. The act of being in an acknowledged stage area actually gives a right to perform. However, this central position also makes those who are within it individually accountable for their actions. This entices audience members to give up their right to contribute as individuals, and instead they retreat behind the anonymity of the ensemble. A clearly defined boundary between the stage and the auditorium is a safeguard that prevents being singled-out from the crowd, as evidence by the way audience members safely place themselves behind the kerb and are reluctant to move forward.

The way performers perform their actions directly impacts the responses they get from passers-

by. When designing their actions to be recognised as performance by other people present, performers are successful at gathering a crowd and stopping the flow of pedestrians across their performance space. However, when their actions are performed casually, without emphasizing the performative aspects through staged glances, body orientation and emphatic gestures, they fail at building an audience.

The way performers hold their heads and orient their bodies in order to establish the performativity of the situation further supports the idea that body torques display multiple levels of engagement. When a performer orients his head and his body so that they face the audience, he displays a complete engagement in his interaction with the audience. If he orients his head or body away from the audience, the performer displays that his primary course-of-action is somewhere else. Additionally, the change of behaviours of both the performer and the passers-by when the performer stand in the middle of the space, raises the question of whether placement might be a general feature of all the recognisably performative actions.

Like Paul, Jim and Alex begin their show between the columns rather than in the middle of the space. However, the sudden change of voice along with their body posture displays their actions as performance and creates a theatrical entrance. It is Paul's move towards the centre of the performance space on the other hand, that marks this transition. Whether it is through a hand-raising-hello gesture like Mark's, a change of voice like Alex and Jim's or a change in where they are positioned, most performers seem to make a clearly marked entrance to which passers-by are responsive.

People negotiate the decision to stop and watch with other members of the group they arrive with. These negotiations are often held by means of head and body orientation, and result in a progressive approach which is closely integrated with the performer's actions. This progressive approach, representative of the behaviour most passers-by adopt to watch a performance, challenges the claim that physical space is sufficient to create a performance. If the decision to stop and watch were made solely on the basis of recognising the physical element of the performance, there would be no reason for this approach to be integrated to the performer's action. This shows that interaction is constitutive of establishing a performance space.

A fine grain analysis of how people interact helps alleviate some of the ambiguity that exists when taking the event as a whole. Without these detailed observations, the risk is to hastily attribute roles to the different actors of the situation in order to make sense of it. Although some

roles are, on the surface, easily attributed, such as performer or passer-by, others like audience member, are definitely more ambiguous. Even then, the details of the interaction reveal that a performer is not always performing, or that a passer-by might for a moment be part of the audience, or a performer himself. The next chapter (Chapter 7) examines the verbal interactions of Covent Garden street performances, and shows how they contribute in framing the performance by further positioning the roles of the different participants.

Chapter 7

Shaping the Audience:

"I do ask you to be a good audience."

—Bruce—

To this point, most of the analysis presented in this thesis has focused on body interactions and gestures, and in particular on physical positioning and orientation. The question of why street performers need to manage the physical environment has been addressed, as well as that of how participants' roles are displayed and recognised. Although Chapter 6 begins to show that verbal interactions can perform specific functions, little has been said about the multiple ways in which street performers address the crowd.

The activity of the audience is generally restricted to activities which can be performed in unison (see section 2.2). The clapping, laughing and cheering together that audiences do displays a form of membership to a collective. This chapter examines how verbal interactions contribute to constructing this collective, and therefore enable the production of group responses.

7.1 Talking to Passers-by

The example of Mark's "hellos" discussed in Chapter 6 shows that verbal interactions can be used to engage passers-by. Another example of initiating interaction through verbal address is Paul's. Paul is trying to get people to stop and watch. He is standing on his trunk, positioned in alignment with the portico's columns, on the side of the street. As discussed before, most performers position

their equipment further away from the portico, towards the middle of the street. For nearly three minutes he remains standing on his trunk, addressing passers-by as they pass, asking them if they want to watch his show.

(16)

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Paul:  When you're a street performer you don't have a stage or
       an audience ready you've gotta kind of like make them all
       happen so I'm gonna try and do that.
       ((to Passer-by 1)) Hello sir!
       So here we go.  Let's see if we can get some people to
       stop.  hmm
```

Example 16 starts with Paul announcing to a generic crowd what he is about to do and why it is important for him to do this. He then begins to address passers-by individually. Although his announcement designs the one-to-one interaction for a third party, the interaction between the performer and the passers-by he addresses are first examined.

A first passer-by crosses the space at a rapid pace looking in the direction of the performer. The performer looks in his direction and addresses him with "Hello Sir!". The passer-by turns his head away and looks down as though refusing to engage. The performer's reaction to this lack of response, "so, here we go", accounts for his failure to engage the passer-by. At the same time, the change of pronoun he uses, from "I" to "we", includes the audience in the action and projects on them the accountability of getting people to stop and watch.

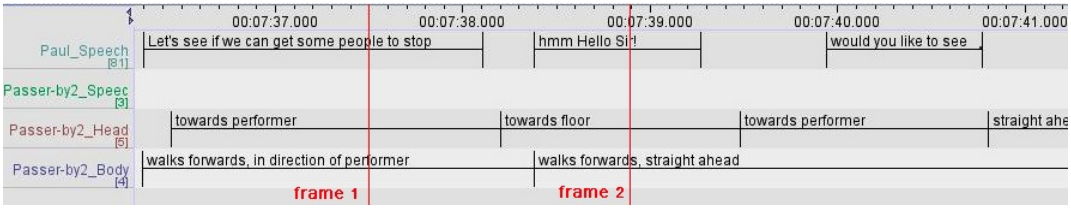
A second passer-by crosses the space at a leisurely pace, with his hands in his pockets (Figure 7.1 Frame 1). He arrived on the piazza with two women and another man and is now walking ahead of them, looking in the direction of the performer. When the performer notices him and looks in his direction, the passer-by turns his head away, looking towards the ground. He also slightly adjusts his direction so that he is not walking towards the performer anymore (Figure 7.1, frame 2), further exhibiting his refusal to engage. When the performer addresses him with *"hello sir!"* he looks back in his direction however, but he looks away again once asked "would you like to see my show?". He then initiates a rotation of the whole body, conducted by his left foot while answering to the performer. At the end of his first utterance, his body is facing the performer and he looks in his direction. During his second utterance he completes a 180 degree rotation, which leaves him oriented towards the performer but walking backwards (Figure 7.1, frame 3). He keeps this orientation for the rest of the interaction.

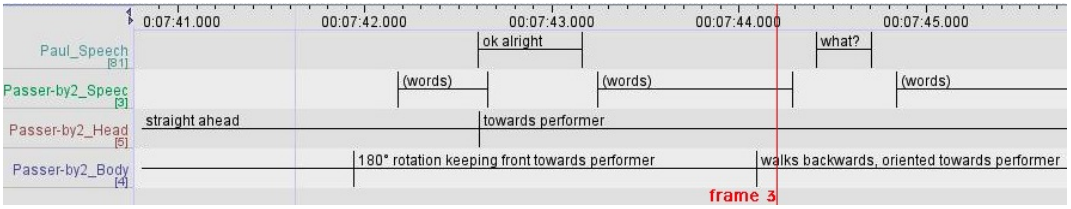
The initial reaction of Passer-by 1 and Passer-by 2 are similar. At first, they look in the direction of the performer, but both look away when they realise they are being targeted by him, making visually manifest that they do not intend to engage. However, while Passer-by 1

Frame 1

Frame 2

Frame 3





(17)

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Paul            ((to Passer-by 2)) Hello Sir!  Would you like to see my
                show?
Passer-by 2:    ( )
Paul:           OK all right.
Passer-by 2:    I'm on my way
Paul:           (What?)
Passer-by 2:    I'm on my way to ( )
Paul:           OK fair enough.  I think everything over there is closed
                though.
Passer-by 2:    ( )
Paul:           OK fair enough.  Fair enough.  Funny.  Right OK so uh...
                All right.
```

Figure 7.1: Change of orientation of Passer-by 2 in response to Paul's addressing him.

keeps walking, ignoring the performer, Passer-by 2 glances back at the performer giving him the opportunity to ask a direct question. This question, in turn, makes the passer-by accountable for showing interest but not stopping. The combination of torque used for addressing the performer while displaying a clear signal that he will not in fact engage shows Passer-by 2's sensitivity to this projected accountability. What is unclear, however, is whether his actions are designed for the performer or for the group he is walking with.

Examples 16 and 17 share the use of a standard greeting in the form of "hello". In CA terms, this is a classic adjacency pair where one greeting is usually answered by another greeting. The presence of the first greeting projects for the second one, and its absence is—normally—marked. By looking towards the floor, Passer-by 1 shows that he is in fact sensitive to this projected accountability and chooses not to answer. As for Passer-by 2, although he tries to avoid engaging with the performer by looking towards the floor, he still ends up greeting the performer back when addressed with "hello sir".

Looking back at Mark's example presented in the previous chapter (Figure 6.11), Girl 1 is the only one who actually greets the performer back, and interestingly, unlike the others, she stops and watches the show. It appears that performers use greetings not only for the speech 'noise' associated with "hello" for instance, but more importantly for the social engagement it projects, and the fact that people are sensitive to not providing the second part of the adjacency pair. However, the comparison of Mark's generic "hello hello hello" and Paul's specifically addressed "hello sir", raises the question of how one manages to appear as if individually addressing each member (or potential member) of the audience without imposing on less-willing participants, with the risk of driving them away.

(18)
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Paul:  ((to Passer-by 3)) Stop!  Watch the show!  Stop!  Stop!
       No keep walking.
```

A third passer-by (example 18) crosses the space holding a phone to his ear and displaying no interest in the performer's actions. Unlike Passer-by 1 and Passer-by 2, he is, voluntarily or not, impervious to interactions with the performer. The action of being on the phone while crossing the space prevents the performer from using a greeting pair since it displays an excuse for not providing the second-pair part. In reaction, the performer uses a different mode of address; he switches from a greeting to a succession of imperatives ("Stop! Watch the show!"). This change of strategy makes Passer-by 3 accountable for crossing the space without paying attention.

In these early stages of the performance, passers-by are yet unaware of a different social situation. In this context, it makes sense for performers to use social norms similar to those found in normal conversation. In doing so, they impose particular kinds of obligation on the passers-by in order to invite or force them to engage.

7.2 Positioning Individuals

At the beginning of section 6.2, it was showed that singling out the passers-by who cross the performance area is a way to police it. Most examples of such interactions target the people who cross the space between the performer and the audience. However, the performer also targets passers-by who are not directly disrupting the performance area, suggesting that these interactions may be more than just space-regulation techniques.

Harré and van Lagenhove (1999) defines positioning as "the discursive construction of personal stories that make a person's actions intelligible and relatively determinate as social acts" (p.16). Unlike roles which are relatively fixed and often formally defined, positions are discursively constructed, and therefore ephemeral. Street performers repeatedly position passers-by, inventing for them a storyline which they use as tools to foster membership amongst the audience. Bruce for example, begins his show through positioning each of the passers-by who walk on the kerb behind the performance space (examples 19 and 22), while Mark positions a lady who is about to cross the performance area (example 21).

(19)

Bruce:	((pointing)) Everyone look at the man in the camouflage jacket because he thinks we cannot see him. (.) So everyone look at that man and get him really paranoid. (.) ((pointing)) Everyone look at the man in the suit with the white bag over his shoulder. I think that man has just had his first day in the job.
Aud.:	haha
Bruce:	And they have sacked him already.
Aud.:	haha
Bruce:	Because he put no sugar in the coffee.
Aud.:	HAHAHA
Bruce:	((turning towards the audience)) okay

In example 19, Bruce's use of pronouns dynamically partitions the members of the interactions into different groups. "Everyone" refers to those who are watching the passer-by and construct them as members of the audience, while "him" refers to the passers-by who are here constructed as outcasts.

The use of "we" (example 19) aligns the performer with his audience. This creates a feeling that those who are part of the performance (those previously addressed as "everyone") are safe from the performer's mockery. A comment made later in the show supports this supposition, and

further positions that group as "the audience":

(20)
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Bruce:  The way my show is working is I do not make fun of the
        audience.
```

The use of "I" (example 19) distances the audience from the opinions expressed by the performer, and further positions the audience as witness. Although the audience laughs at the expense of the passer-by, its members are not individually responsible for perpetrating the joke. Note that the performer's switch to "I" coincides with a change in the form of audience responses, that is, from no response to some laughter.

These uses of pronouns distinguish those who are within the performance frame from those who are outside of it. Through these interventions, the performer not only regulates the physical use of the space, he also establishes its social use. Mark uses a similar technique:

(21)
```
Mark:  before we start the really crazy dangerous stuff hum I
       just wanna hum make sure everyone's on board here hum so
       let's just do a quick sound check.  ca- ca- can
       one second this lady is gonna walk through the show cause
       she's...looking quite angry today
Aud.:  HAHAHA
Mark:  Com'on Madam you're in need of entertainment.  Cm'on
       don't be like that don't be all angry it's okay.
       Everything's okay.
```

Mark introduces a new type of pronoun in the form of a singular you ("Com'on Madam *you*'re in need of entertainment", example 21). Unlike the people targeted by Bruce in example 19, the woman is positioned by Mark's "you" as an active participant of the interaction. She reacts to Mark's comment by turning around to look at the performer, further marking or acknowledging, voluntarily or not, her participation.

On occasions, performers try to force this inclusion into the performance frame on passers-by. In example 22, the form of the technique Bruce uses is comparable to Paul's in that it uses "hello". However, unlike Paul's "hello sir", the addition of a made-up name to Bruce's hello turns his greeting into mockery addressed to the audience rather than projecting for a response from the passer-by. In this case, the passer-by completely ignores the performer, creating an opportunity for the performer to comment on the reason he is being ignored. Bruce's technique reveals that, unlike Paul, he is not trying to entice the passer-by to stop and watch, nor is he aiming to engage interaction with them. Although he is talking to the passer-by, his talk is designed for the audience,

with the aim of eliciting laughter.

(22)

Bruce:	the man in the green jacket the green jacket that's my manager (.) hello Bob (.) the reason he's ignoring me is 'cause he's really embarrassed because last night we went out for business drinks and he tried to mix business with pleasure.
Aud.:	haha
Bruce:	he tried to kiss me.
Aud.:	haha
Bruce:	you sick bastard!
Aud.:	HAHAHA
Bruce:	((turning towards the audience)) okay

The way in which Bruce constructs the interaction with the audience in Examples 19 and 22 is worth further consideration. Unlike Mark, Bruce needs to work and build upon his previous mockery to elicit group laughter. The pauses in his speech establish clearly that the mockery is designed for an audience, that is not just enacted but performed. Throughout these interactions, Bruce turns his back to the kerb and to most of his audience. On both occasions he only turns his head back towards his audience on "okay"(example 19 and example 22). What does this tell us?

Figure 7.2: Bruce turns his head towards the audience after group laughter, saying "okay"

Let's examine the laugher sequences from the audience. In both cases, Bruce produces "okay" after loud laughter, and then moves on to something else that is not mocking a passer-by. While closing the interaction, this "okay" also appears to act as a way to acknowledge the strength of laughter and to take ownership of its production. In the turns preceding the "okay", although Bruce does not verbally mark his expectation of loud laughter, his pauses, and the fact that he keeps adding to the mockery, show he is not fully satisfied with the response he is getting. When he finally reaches loud laugher, he looks towards the audience and says "okay" in appraisal of the response.

The build up to loud laughter is quite slow. During the first couple of pauses, people smile in the audience, but no laughter can be heard. Then one or two people laugh, twice, before a group response is achieved. For Bruce, eliciting laughter repeatedly until shaping a collective response,

is a technique to enlist the individuals who are watching as members of a same group. In doing so, he builds the foundations of an audience. At the same time, the act of laughing at the expense of a passer-by, makes those who laugh accomplices of the performer, further enhancing the distinction between people who are part of the performance and others.

Another type of positioning frequently used by street performers targets members of the audience. In Covent Garden, an assumption is made that the crowd that gathers to watch the shows is often composed of tourists. A piece of evidence to this assumption is that performers often refer to the presence of tourists (e.g., see turns 681 and 693 in Appendix C) or to the nationality of the people in the crowd. In Bruce's performance, examples are numerous. The first question he asks audience participants is "where are you from?".

(23)

Bruce:	Hello my friend wher're you from?
man:	Poland
Bruce:	Po:land could I
audience:	hah ah ah
Bruce:	You're from Po:land (.) could I ask you a question? I am wondering if there are any people .. left in Po:land .. or are they all in England?
audience:	HAH HAH HAH

Nationality gives street performers an occasion to perform putdown humour, which has been shown to "help foster group identity and cohesion in a temporary group" (Terrion & Ashforth, 2002, p.55). In example 23, this humorous effect takes the form of a comment on the large number of Polish people in England. The performer constructs it as laughable by using a three-part build-up to the punch-line, which is similar to the three-part list device public speakers use to elicit audience responses (see section 2.2).

However, the humour-designed content is not the only part that gets a response. The audience gives a first round of laughter in response to Bruce's exaggeration of the first syllable of Poland. This exaggeration is probably not designed as humour considering the performer does not pause after it. This continuity shows that a response from the crowd was not expected. In reaction to the audience's laughter, the performer repeats the effect, this time with a pause. He even later reproduces it with his emphasis on the first syllable of "England".

(24)

Bruce:	heh heh Thank you. Wher're you fro- wher're you from?
woman:	France.
Bruce:	France. ((raising left arm in the air)) FRANce!
man:	wooh
Bruce:	Ho my god!
audience:	HA HA HA
Bruce:	Ye this man is really madly in love with you!

Nationality can also be used to directly create affiliation. In example 24 Bruce second repetition of the girl's nationality, emphasised by his arm gesture and louder tone, acts as an invitation for other audience members to respond. In this particular example, only one person accepts this invitation. This individual reaction is marked by the performer with "ho my god". In a way, the "ho my god" has the opposite effect to the "okays", and appraises the response negatively. It also elicits laughter from the audience.

7.3 Positioning the Audience

Chapter 5 showed the spatial importance of shaping the layout of the audience, and the impact this has on passers-by. The events that trigger street performers to shape the layout of the audience are varied. Some, like Phil, proceed to shaping the layout of the audience because their performance space is being violated:

(25)

```
Phil:  It's amazing that people still walk through the show
       at this stage isn't it?  Heh OK can we stop that from
       happening?
       Guys sitting down if you wanna sit can you just move up
       to here?  OK, thanks yeah.
```

Others, like Sham, aim to facilitate the elicitation of audience responses and to "get some atmosphere going" (see later, example example 37, Chapter 8). This idea that pulling the audience into a tighter formation helps building atmosphere (C. Clark & Pinch, 1995) is one Phil also expresses (example 26):

(26)

```
Phil:  OK everyone here.  Let's do it nice and quick yeah it's
       where you should all be yeah?  Nice an quickly guys.
       That's it.  Let's get a lovely atmosphere together.  Just
       move in.
```

Most performances include some form of management of the layout of the audience, even when the initial formation of the audience is relatively compact (this is the case for instance in Mark's first show as well as Jim and Alex's show). The physical proximity of the audience members that results from managing the audience formation does not account fully for the establishment of membership. The process itself contributes to this phenomenon. This section examines the effects the gestural and verbal management techniques of the performer have on audience members.

Section 5.3.2 presented the gesture Sham uses to shape the formation of the audience. After establishing a first row of people standing, Sham orients back to a few people still seated on

the kerb. Two women do not respond to his injunction and remain seated. A tense moment ensues from this absence of reaction where the performer attempts to persuade them to participate (example 27). Throughout this interaction, both women avoid interaction, one by turning her head in direction of the second woman, the other by looking towards the ground. The performer uses an escalation of persuasion techniques, from polite request, to order, to personal appeal. All of which are met with the same marked refusal to engage with the performer. Despite the absence of resolution of the conflict, the performer terminates the interaction with "here we go", as if trying to compose himself before moving on to the next step of this audience gathering. As soon as he moves his attention away from the two girls and onto the crowd behind them, the two women stand up and leave.

(27)

Sham:	Over here can you please stand up. Stand up. Stand up==if you want to watch the show help me get this done by standing. If not (sod off) so people who do wanna see it can come stand there. Yeah? Seriously just help me out just stand up. No? (.) Here we go.

The behaviour of the two women goes beyond the habitual resistance street performers often face when first forming the crowd. Individually addressing those who do not respond to the collective request is, in most cases, sufficient to entice them to comply. But the women in example 27 repeatedly ignore the performer's request, and more importantly, they refuse to engage with the performer. Because everybody else around them is standing up, there is no possible confusion as to whom the performer addresses his request to stand up. Therefore, their refusal to engage with the performer becomes a public act of resistance. If the performer continues without marking this resistance act, it could be that he makes it acceptable for others to remain seated.

By asking the women to leave, Sham establishes that being a member of the audience comes with moral obligations. The audience is accountable for participating, and this accountability is a moral matter. Looking ahead to Chapter 8, this Garfinkelian argument about accountability is further exemplified in Mark's management of the audience responses. The performer constructs the lack of audience responses as an absence of caring (example 46) or as the demonstration of a feeling of superiority (example 47).

(46)

Mark:	In a few minutes time I'm gonna juggle with a full speed running chainsaw ((raising both arms above his head))
Audience:	Woo
Mark:	You don't care!

(47)

Mark:	beautiful now it is Covent Garden we've gotta do some silly stuff (.) a practice WOO (.8)
Audience:	woo:o
Mark:	quite nice at the front that's lovely kinda crappy from these people over he(h)re com'on guy throw away your egos open up your chakras don't be all SUPErior about it a practice woo (.) and then we start a practice woo
Audience:	WOO::O

These verbally constructed moral obligations help define a particular group, that of the audience. The people who do not participate or fail to comply with the performer's requests are cast out from the group. The exclusion of the two women projects an obligation to participate on the members of the audience who witnessed the scene.

Unlike Phil or Sham, Bruce's need to group the audience is not triggered by any identifiable event. Instead, it appears to be scripted in his routine since it occurs within the same sequence of event in both recordings of his performance. Before he starts forming the audience, Bruce introduces what he is about to do as a favour he asks from the audience. He constructs the act of standing up as undemanding for the audience and states that it is something the audience will eventually have to do to leave. All these actions make the act of standing up non performative. To the contrary, Sham's request is shaped as being the duty of the audience ("if you want to watch the show help me get this done by standing", example 27). By standing up, people perform *being an audience member*. In Bruce's case, standing up is just an ordinary action people will eventually do, whether or not they are part of the audience.

Another difference between Sham's and Bruce's performances is the construction of time. Although they are both asking the audience to stand up at approximately the same moment (around 20 minutes, or half-way into the show), Bruce introduces it as "this is the last part of the show" and announces that the audience will only be standing for "5 minutes" (example 28), while Sham presents it as "the beginning of the show" (see section 5.3.2, example 4). Note that both performers announce the temporary state of the action of standing up, marked by "just". The relative time difference does not come from a difference in the progression of their routine. In both shows, the management of the audience formation marks the transition from the set-up routine to the juggle routine. It may be that performers' measure of time is linked to the responses they get from the audience at a particular moment, and to the amount of work they still have to do to ensure

payment from the audience.

(28)
```
Bruce:  OK so this is the last part of the show, and just for
        the last part...  just for the last part of the show I'm
        going to ask a favour.  Only for the last part of the show
        everyone now who is sitting down in 5 minutes you have to
        stand up anyway.
```

Bruce first asks everyone sitting on the kerb to stand up (example 29). Unlike Sham's extended set of gestures, Bruce accompanies his speech with a single repeated one; that is, with one open hand, palm facing up, he repeatedly gestures his forearm in a bottom to top motion. He starts by directing the gesture to the people seated close to the north rope (Figure 7.3a), progressively moving towards the centre of the kerb (Figure 7.3b) and then coming back to the rope but this time orienting towards those further away (Figure 7.3c). Again, he insists on it being "just for the last part of the show", suggesting that it is important for the audience to know they will only have to stand up for a short period of time.

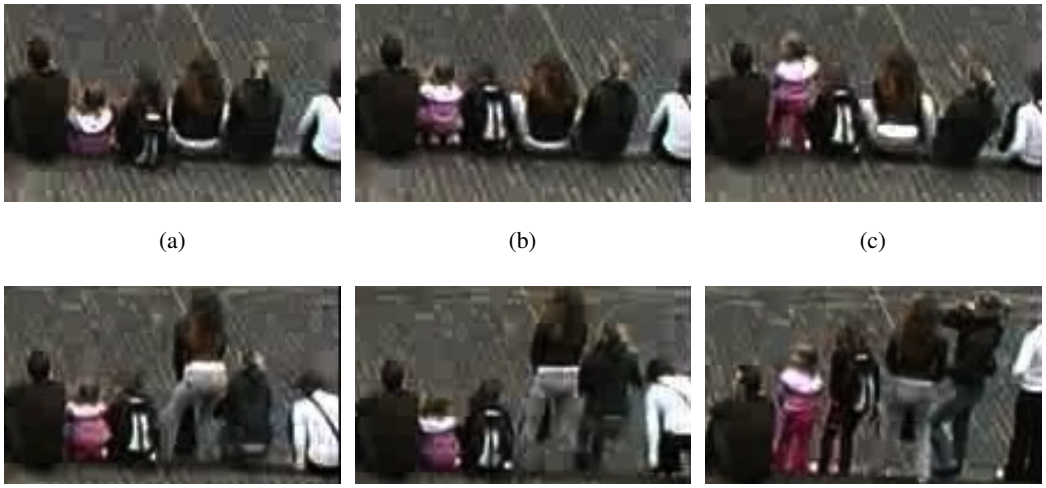
(a) (b) (c)

(29)
```
Bruce  ((gesture begins)) So I'm just going to ask everyone
       now just to be standing up so everyone has to do this
       so everyone who is sitting down.  You're gonna have
       to stand up anyway in for the last part of the show so
       everyone now...  if you are just standing up that would
       be brilliant just for the last part of the show.
```

Figure 7.3: Bruce asking the people seated on the kerb to stand up.

The first people to react to this gesture are two young girls, next to each other, close to the rope (Figure 7.4). The eldest initiates a standing motion (Figure 7.4b) but does not complete it while the youngest stands, looks to her left where no-one is standing and seats back down (Figure 7.4c). In the meantime, the woman to the immediate right of the eldest has started to stand up, a movement that propagates to the two people immediately on her right (Figure 7.4d). The two girls orient their head towards them (Figure 7.4e) and stand together (Figure 7.4f).

Some people stand up in response to the performer gesturing in their direction, others in response to audience members directly next to or immediately in front of them standing up. However, the standing motion does not propagate all the way on the side of the kerb where the



(a) (b) (c)

(d) (e) (f)

Figure 7.4: Influence of the immediate surrounding audience on the act of standing up.

performer did not go, and some individuals remain seated in the middle of standing people.

Walking towards the section of the audience still seating, the performer tries to convince them to stand up (example 30). He uses motivators which are external to the person seating—"everyone else is doing it"—and motivators which are internal—"Be part and you get much more out of the show". People only start to stand up when he reaches them. Many remain seated.

(30)

```
Bruce:  Everyone here please ((large arm gesture designating the
        people standing)) Everyone else is doing it so please
        ((resuming up-down arm gesture)) be part of everything
        yeah?  Be part and you get much more out of the show
        trust me.  So if everyone here is just standing up that
        would be brilliant yeah?
```

Bruce identifies the groups seating by pointing in their direction and addressing them as "everyone here" (example 31). All the people whom the performer addresses during this interaction either stand-up to watch or leave. At the end of the interaction, most people are standing up.

(31)

```
Bruce:  ((pointing gesture)) Everyone here those who are watching,
        just if you are watching just- standing up.  If you are
        watching.  That would be brilliant.
```

Bruce then proceeds with shaping the crowd around his performance space. He rushes back to the rope he started from and starts shaping the side of the performance space. In a manner similar to Sham's, Bruce stands just behind the rope facing towards the performance space in an audience-like position. He invites people to come all the way to the rope (example 32), and alternately points towards the rope, then towards the people behind him. People react positively to this invitation and quickly form a tight line behind the rope.

(32)

Bruce: Because what I ask everyone to do just for the last part of the show... Now I am going to ask everybody on the sides, just to do me a favour now and be part of the show and make a nice wall along here. So if everyone does that really quickly and put their toes on the rope.

Bruce then asks the crowd to do the same on the south side of the Piazza (example 33). However, he only points in the general direction of the rope without walking up to it or making any specific gesture towards groups of people. Very few people respond to his request. Those who move, do not come all the way to the rope and stay grouped rather than spread along a line.

(33)

Bruce: So n'everyone on this side just the same thing, make a wall over here.

The performer then quickly moves on to address the people on the kerb and asks them to come closer (example 34). He accompanies his demand with a hand gesture drawing an imaginary line along the edge of the kerb (Figure 7.5a). In response to this gesture people move forward and fill the gaps, forming a line at the edge of the kerb (Figure 7.5b). He then extends his arm, his hand, palm towards himself, fingers closed and slightly bent. Keeping his arm extended, he addresses the people at the back while taking 3 steps along the line formed by the crowd on the kerb. He stops and asks them to come closer repeatedly bringing his hand towards himself. As he repeats his utterance he briefly repeats the extended motion towards a different portion of the crowd standing at the back. People react to this interaction by complying with the performer's request, and three rows of tight audience quickly emerge (Figure 7.5c).

By asking people to stand up and creating a first row of audience, Bruce has in fact created a visual obstacle for the people at the back. In order to see what is happening, people now have to come in closer and stand right behind the front row. This visual obstacle, here expressed by

(a) (b) (c)

(34)

Bruce: And everyone who is at the front just come to the step, if you're not at the step as close as you can. And all the people at the back just come as close as you can so you can see better... Heh all the people at the back just come as close as you can so you can see better.

Figure 7.5: Bruce asking the people standing on the kerb to move forward.

Bruce's comment "so you can see better", is recurrently brought up by performers:

(35)

Phil: Okay okay okay I do it differently then okay. Everyone stand up! Stand up. ((to the people on seated behind on the kerb)) Now you can't see hahaha

Getting people to stand helps getting people to move, but it also plays a role in sustaining the cohesiveness of the audience as it gets bigger. When the first few rows are standing, newcomers need to come in closer to be able to see. This results in the type of tip-toeing behaviours mentioned by Sham (see section 5.3.2, example 8).

Bruce finally goes back to shaping the people behind the rope on the south side, where his first attempt (example 33) failed. He first asks them to form a "wall" (example 36). People come all the way to the rope but remain grouped rather than spread along the rope. The performer then manages individuals into the line formation he is after. The people who had grouped behind the rope only move in a line behind the rope when addressed individually. However, other people join in from further away on the piazza and spontaneously stand in a line behind the rope.

(36)

Bruce: And the people of this side if I get a nice wall along here the crowd will get much much bigger for me. So I'm going to arrange you people. Could you guys just make room for these guys. An'if you guys put your toes onto the ropes. Oh ye ex'lent. And if that man just stand there. And the lady down. And you guys just squeeze in. Thank you everyone, cheers yea.

In addition to using specific gestures, performers alternate between generic and specific forms of address. Generic forms of address such as "the people at the front" or "'the people on the side" are used to identify a portion of the crowd as a whole and are a first choice when attempting to manage the crowd. When these first attempts fail, specific forms of address such as "everyone

here", "you guys" or "that man" are used. These addresses partition the audience, and explicitly identify individuals or groups of individuals who did not comply with the initial request.

Performers socially mark behaviours that differ from the group as inappropriate. This marking of social inadequacy is reminiscent of the techniques performers use to prevent passers-by from straying into the performance area. However, in this particular situation, these identifications of individuals are, more often than not, followed by displays of gratefulness (e.g., "That would be brilliant.", " Oh ye ex'lent.", "Thank you everyone, cheers yea."). Performers do not show such displays when addressing passers-by crossing the performance space. Similarly, Sham uses a decreasing level of politeness when interacting with the women who refuse to engage (example 27). He starts off with "Please stand up" but marks their refusal to comply with "just sod off". Through this choice of words, he gradually excludes them from the audience as he stops addressing them with the same reverence he used for audience members. These different levels of politeness contribute to building a feeling of membership in a very Manichaen way; the *good guys* from the audience are treated with more respect, even when they do not comply with the performer's instructions, than the *bad guys* who are not part of the audience.

7.4 Conclusions

Performers shape audience behaviour in different ways. They verbally express their expectation of a responsive audience, they teach them where and how to position themselves and expel uncooperative individuals. All these actions establish new social norms and memberships. People are either part of the audience or part of the non-audience. As a result, the "side-by-side" groups of watchers are shaped into a collective body of responsive audience members, physically placed into what Kendon (2010) terms a "common-focus gathering" (see Chapter 6. This in turn suggests that the denomination of "gathering" is not entirely appropriate for these performances, since it implies a naturally occurring phenomenon. Here, the process is a highly managed one, and the audience does not spontaneously gather in a formation where their participation right is unequal to that of the performer.

This difference in right of participation is constructed by the performer throughout. Interactions with passers-by serve to demonstrate and establish the restricted access to the space. Arguably, Paul's addresses asking passers-by to watch his show construct the space as restricted to him and the people willing to watch his performance. A second level of interaction with passers-

by, designed for the audience, begins to construct certain forms of participation as welcomed (collective responses) while discouraging others (individual responses). Finally, direct interaction with the audience makes explicit the audience's duty to participate according to the performer's rules.

Not everyone responds the same way to the performer's requests. Some people respond to general requests from the performer while others follow the actions of the people next to them. Others again only respond when individually pointed out. Although these differences are expected, they show different levels of participation and ultimately different levels of membership among the crowd. A majority of people are sensitive to the normative social influence of the group and follow what others are doing. However, some individuals resist to such group influence and can become a threat to the creation of the audience if not managed. Performers address this issue by putting these people in the position of being watched. When put in such a situation most people comply with the social consensus or leave. If they fail to do so, the performer formally excludes them from the group.

Shaping the crowd into a specific formation is not trivial. The performer's gestures must be specific and clearly indicate not only where people are expected to stand but also in which formation. People on one side of the performance space do not spontaneously mirror what the people on the other side are doing. This absence of 'doing things together' echoes the difficulties the performers face when trying to elicit group responses from the crowd. The ways in which performers address the audience are especially important, and help to enlist each individual. For people to follow the performer's direction, each member of the audience must feel as if they are being personally addressed. Generic addresses are only effective when backed up by gestures which identify specific parts of the audience. When these gestural addresses fail, verbal addresses are used that increasingly specify the groups or individuals targeted.

Chapter 8

Training Audiences:

"And the crowd goes 'Woo'!"

—Mark—

Studies in CA (see section 2.2) show that public speakers use rhetorical devices and gestures to elicit audience responses. Audiences respond to interaction mechanisms comparable to those used in the management of turn-taking in normal conversation. In indoor performances, as Broth (2002, 2011) demonstrates for theatre audiences, audience members can rely on staging cues to decide on the appropriateness of when to cough, be silent, or laugh without a need for prior briefing. But as chapters 5 through to 7 have shown, for street performers, the construction of a stage and an audience, and the establishment of a new social situation are all part of the performance. How do audiences know when and how to respond when elements that frame the social situation as performance do not exist prior to the event?

Chapter 7 showed that the formation of the audience and the establishment of membership play a role in the elicitation of audience responses, but only to the extent that they foster membership and therefore facilitate audience participation—making the difference between a generally silent audience and a responsive audience. This chapter addresses the question of how street performers teach their audiences how to respond. It shows that the audience's production of a correct and timely response is not trivial in street performances. Street performers shape the timing and content of the response from audience and constantly monitor its appropriateness. First, this chapter

establishes that street performers use three-turn sequences comparable to classroom appraisal. Then, a detailed study of one particular kind of response, *wooing*, is carried out, which reveals how street performers establish and sustain rules of audience behaviour which they later rely on to elicit responses. Ultimately, this chapter demonstrates the primordial role of gesture in the construction of appropriate audience responses.

8.1 Eliciting Audience Responses

As the previous chapter illustrates, getting a Covent Garden audience to produce a response is not straightforward. Performers have to work at it. But what are the mechanics of eliciting collective responses in street performances?

In example 37, Sham twice attempts and fails to elicit a response from the audience. By the CA turn-taking rule-set (Sacks et al., 1974), "for *your* amusement" can be regarded as a form of next speaker selection. Something is being done for the audience, and it projects for a response. The 1.0 second gap that follows, which in conversational terms is large (Jefferson, 1989), further marks a transition-relevance place for the transfer of a turn. The performer's ensuing speech, and in particular "not part of the show" or "don't need amusement", also projects for the sense that there is an ostensibly missing response in that gap. Of course, the performer is also saying a response was not "expected" or "needed" but this underlines that there could have been a response in that position—it could, for example, simply have been an announcement to which a direct response would have been inappropriate; or a statement directed to other people as next speakers, in which a response would have also been inappropriate. This expectation of a response is further highlighted when the performer presents both gaps as spaces where something could and should have happened.

Furthermore, the second gap is longer than the first one, and the performer tells the audience that the second item presented was more deserving of a response. Here, Sham constructs his own utterances and actions as projecting for a response, but he also builds up the claimability for a response. Finally, the last line makes explicit that some responses (in this case applause) are more

appropriate than others.

(37)

```
Sham:  And now juggling with my balls for your amusement.
       ((balls gesture sequence))(1.0)
       It's not part of the show, I'm just getting set up.  I
       don't need amusement in the show, it just adds a certain
       je ne sais quoi.  That's French for ``I don't know what''.
       Here we go.
       The next exciting prop.
       ((unicycle gesture sequence))(3.0)
       Look, when I put the balls over here hum I didn't expect
       a reaction.  ((changing his voice)) No thank you doesn't
       need it.  Okay.  But I did think if I've got a big shiny
       thing out in front of you I'd get some kind of response=
Aud:   [=x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x
Sham:  [A few ( ) not necessarily applause but maybe someone
       shouting ``Gosh that's a big one!''
```

In this example, Sham repeats two similar three-part sequences one after the other. First, the performer makes an announcement about what he is about to do ("And now juggling with my balls for your amusement" and "the next exciting prop", example 37), followed by a gesture and a pause as markers of handing the floor over to the audience. Finally, he comments on the audience responses (in these cases, the lack of response).

Three-turn sequences are typical of pedagogical discourses and are well studied in classroom interaction. These interactions, often referred to as Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) (Mehan, 1979a) or Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975)[1], begin with the teacher's question followed by the student's response, which is then evaluated in the third turn by the teacher. Mehan's (1979b) introductory example is typically used to illustrate the difference between a IRE/IRF sequence and a similar non-pedagogical three-turn sequence:

(38)[2]

```
Speaker A:  What time is it, Denise?
Speaker B:  2:30
Speaker A:  Thank you, Denise.
```

(39)[3]

```
Speaker A:  What time is it, Denise?
Speaker B:  2:30
Speaker A:  Very good, Denise.
```

As evidenced by examples 38 and 39, the pedagogical part of the interaction is carried out in the third turn. As Tsui (1989) demonstrates, it is not so much that these interactions form three-turn sequences that make them noticeable, but rather what the third turn achieves, and in particular, as

[1]Note that Mehan and Sinclair and Coulthard look at these three-turn interactions from a Discourse Analysis perspective. For a CA perspective on similar interactions see for example Lee (2007); Seedhouse (2004). The controversy between the two approaches on how these interactions are best analysed is beyond the scope of this thesis, and concepts are borrowed from both disciplines.

[2]From Mehan (1979b).

[3]Ibid.

discussed in Lee (2007), that the third turn "carries out the contingent task of responding to and acting on the prior turns while moving interaction forward" (p.1204). In example 38, the third turn is a display of gratitude, and although its absence could be marked as a lack of social skills, its presence does not affect how B may answer the same question in the future. In example 39, however, the third turn acts as an appraisal of the response, assessing B's answer as appropriate, and therefore encouraging B to try and reproduce this answer in future interactions.

Comparable three-turn sequences are repeatedly found in Covent Garden street performances. Audiences are expected to respond to certain triggers, which can be verbal or gestural, and are generally followed by a comment from the performer. Verbal prompts include asking a closed question to the audience such as "Can you hear me?"(example 40), "Is anybody out there?" or "People on the balcony are you ready?".

(40)

```
Mark:  Let's start with a quick sound check.  Can you hear me?
Aud.:  [Yea:::h
       [No::
Mark:  I like these people.  They're silly silly people.
```

Ideophones such as "yepah!" (example 41) and "wahoo!" are also commonly used. These are often in synchrony with a particular gesture, action or a pause from the performer.

(41)

```
Alex:  Ball number one.  ((throws a ball to Jim))
Jim:   ((catching the ball)) Yepa:h!
Alex:  Okay I'll explain.=
       ((to a member of the audience)) =Well done, thank you.
       That's what's known in the business as a meaningless
       circus moment where you the audience clap for no reason.
```

Words which, in the context they are uttered, do not have any other conversational purpose but to elicit a response can also be used. These include "one, two, three!" (example 42) or "showtime!" (example 43) as per the examples below:

(42)

```
Alex:  Here we go on three.  [One, two, three.
Jim :  [One, two, three.
       ((both performers take a bow))
Aud.:  xxxxxxx
Alex:  Ho it's lovely
Jim:   Beautiful
```

(43)

```
Bruce:  Okay so I go showtime and you people go yeah.  ready?
        showti:me
Aud.:   ye::ah
Bruce:  excellent
```

Audience responses take the form of applause or sounds such as "yeah", "woo" or even "no", which have the common feature of being uttered loudly and with a stretch of the vowel. These responses are often followed by a comment from the performer. Some of these comments mark

a positive response from the audience, for example "Ho it's lovely. Beautiful" (example 42), "I like these people" (example 40) or "Excellent" (example 43). Others, whilst marking the positive response from part of the audience, invite others to join in, such as "okay I'll explain. ((to a member of the audience)) Well done, thank you" (example 41) or "you show them how it's done!" (example 44).

(44)

```
Bruce:  Is everybody ready?
aud.:   yeah::
        ((people responding from the balcony)) YEAH::
Bruce:  yes the people on the balcony the drunk people you show
        them how it's done
```

In the absence of a response from the audience, especially at the beginning of a show, some performers make comments such as "Nevermind, pre-show warm-up" (example 45) or like Sham "I'm just getting set-up" (example 37). These comments mark the lack of response from the audience, while attributing it to the performer.

(45)

```
Alex:  What's that?
Jim:   The balcony!
Alex:  Balcony!  (.7)
       Yes it's a balcony, never mind, pre-show warm-up.
```

To the contrary, comments such as "I'd get some kind of response" (example 37) or "You don't care!" (example 46), directly make the audience accountable for some form of failure in their response (not necessarily a lack of response altogether).

(46)

```
Mark:       In a few minutes time I'm gonna juggle with a full speed
            running chainsaw ((raising both arms above his head))
Audience:   Woo
Mark:       You don't care!
```

The third-turn comments of street performers play a pedagogical role comparable to those found in classroom interactions, and are an important part of building audience responsiveness. The marked absence of audience responses demonstrates a form of adjacency pair between the performer's trigger action or speech and the audience responses. However, comments on the presence of the second-pair part suggest that the audience's response is not entirely a given. These third-turn appraisals are especially frequent at the beginning of a show, demonstrating a need from street performers to teach their audience how to respond. Additionally, performers seem to demonstrate a form of escalation of their claim on audience responses through the way they attribute a failure to respond to themselves or to the audience. The remainder of this chapter looks at how street performers use gesture to teach and manage both the timing and the appropriateness of audience responses.

8.2 Role of Gesture in the Teaching of Audience Responses

Audience responses were coded across three performances and classified as claps, cheers, laughter or other responses. The process revealed that Mark's performance had a surprisingly higher number of cheers than the other two. On closer analysis, many of the responses that had been coded as cheers, were in fact "woo"s, a response which did not appear in other performances. How does Mark manage to get the audience to repeatedly produce this unusual response?

(47)

Mark:	Okay now first of all folks (.) I feel I must warm up the audience first of all by saying (.) HELLO (.4)
Audience:	hello::o
Mark:	could we try that again this time could everybody imagine that I'm a human being (.) with feelings (.) com'on guys don't reject me like that (.) HELLO (.3)
Audience:	HELLO::O
Mark:	beautiful now it is Covent Garden we've gotta do some silly stuff (.) a practice WOO (.8)
Audience:	woo:o
Mark:	quite nice at the front that's lovely kinda crappy from these people over he(h)re com'on guy throw away your egos open up your chakras don't be all SUPErior about it a practice woo (.) and then we start a practice woo
Audience:	WOO::O
Mark:	lovely woos now very soon guys for the grand finale I juggle a full speed (.) running chainsaw I also juggle under my leg (.) I also juggle it behind my back and sometimes I make mistakes and cut (.) chunks of flesh (.) from (.) my (.) limbs (.6)
Audience:	woo::o
Mark:	((ironically)) excitement...

In this first example (example 47), Mark "warms up" the audience by eliciting successive responses. This type of routine is commonly used by street performers to train the audience to respond in specific ways. Which cues are the audience looking for in order to provide the expected response? The transcript of the verbal interaction provides a possible explanation for the audience responses but equally raises questions as to how the audience knows when and how to respond.

In the first two exchanges, the performer uses a greeting ("hello") , which in CA, is the first pair part of a classic adjacency pair. Combined with a prosodic change (hello is louder), the audience can rely exclusively on the speech in order to know what they are expected to produce and when to produce it. The next two elicitations work in similar ways, except that instead of using an adjacency pair, the performer asks the audience to practice a specific response. So far, it looks like the audience relies on the type of rhetorical devices highlighted by Atkinson (1984b) and others (see section 2.2) in order to produce the following turn.

However, the absence of response after the first "practice woo" complicates the analysis.

How does the audience know they are not expected to respond at this point? Can the absence of prosodic emphasis completely account for it? Moreover, how is the final "woo" produced since both the prosodic and the semantic devices are lost? The audience must be relying on additional cues to manage turn-taking. The one thing the performer produces reliably at the end of each turn is a gesture.

8.2.1 Description of Mark's Woo-Eliciting Gesture

Mark performs a gesture as he reaches the end of an utterance after which he wants the audience to produce "woo" as a response. He starts by bringing his arms in front of him in preparation for a broad movement. He then extends his arms on each side of his body and brings them behind him. With a rotation of the shoulder, he brings his extended arms, hands open, palms facing upward, high in front of him. He holds the position until the audience's response is well under way.

Figure 8.1: Filmstrip of Mark's gesture with the matching transcription for each phase. The wave underline indicates a motion and the dash underline indicates the gesture is being held. The down arrow ⇓ shows the transition between the preparation for the gesture and the gesture itself. The triangle △ shows the moment when the gesture reaches the final posture that will be sustained.

Based on the gesture's relevance for the interaction, and the audience's reaction to specific movements within the gesture, the gesture is decomposed in three significant phases: *preparation phase*, *stroke phase* and *sustainment phase* (Figure 8.1). Section 8.4 shows how each phase serves a specific role in the interaction. Example 48 presents an interaction between the performer and the audience. This interaction is of special interest because of the appraisal given by the performer ("perfect"). Here, the performer expresses his complete satisfaction with the appropriateness of the audience's response, making it a baseline against which less appropriate interactions can be compared.

(48)

Mark:	very soon full speed chainsaw finale under the leg behind
	the back maybe slicing flesh from (.) my (.) limbs=
Audience:	⇓=WOO::△O
Mark:	perfect

Six important features can be noted in this interaction:

- The audience responds “woo”;
- the verbal prompt used by the performer does not make explicit the type of response expected;
- there is no pause between the turn of the performer and that of the audience;
- the production of the audience’s response is simultaneous with the stroke phase of the gesture;
- the audience’s response is loud and long; and
- the audience’s response and the sustainment of the gesture terminate synchronously.

The following examples show what happens when the interaction diverges from this sequence. These changes in sequence can be intentional or accidental. The rest of this section first presents how street performers and audience members jointly achieve this result through intentionally modifying the pattern. Second, the study of mistakes and their repairs demonstrates the relevance of each phase of the movement. Third, the possible variations around this normative interaction are presented.

8.3 Establishing a Gesture-Response Pair

In order to obtain an adequate response (as marked by “perfect” in example 48), the performer needs to teach and train the audience. For that, Mark uses a succession of steps, starting with using the gesture in a greetings adjacency pair (“hello-hello”) as per example 47a.

(47a)

Mark:	Okay now first of all folks (.) I feel I must warm up the audience first of all by saying (.) ⇓HELLO△ (.4)
Audience:	hello::o
Mark:	could we try that again this time could everybody imagine that I’m a human being (.) with feelings (.) com’on guys don’t reject me like that (.) ⇓HELLO△ (.3)
Audience:	HELLO::O
Mark:	beautiful

On both occasions, the preparation phase of the gesture coincides with a short pause in the speech while the stroke phase of the gesture overlaps with the performer’s “hello”. After a pause during which the performer holds the gesture, the audience responds “hello”. Although it is impossible in the data to quantify exactly how many members of the audience respond, some variation can be noted in the loudness of the response and how stretched it is. It is probably safe to assume that the number of people who contribute to the response will affect both variables. A large number of people will not only sound loud, the overall group response will last longer

because individual members do not begin and end their responses at exactly the same time. The performer's comment ("could we try . . . don't reject me like that", example 47), and the subsequent change in loudness of the audience's "hello" begin to make apparent the importance the performer pays to the strength of the response.

After introducing the gesture itself, Mark's second step in teaching the audience how to respond is to introduce the expected response, that is, "woo". To that end, he asks the audience for a "practice woo". In example 47b, the performer makes explicit the response that is expected from the audience. This time, between the performer's speech and the gesture are produced in sequence; the preparation phase immediately follows the request. Considering it is the third time the audience is asked for a response, it would seem logical for the onset of the gesture to trigger the response without delay. However, the pause between the end of the performer's turn and the onset of the audience's response is significantly longer than the pauses before both "hello" responses. In fact, the audience's response only starts on the stroke phase of the gesture, mimicking the way the performer presented the gesture. This observation would suggest that the onset of the audience's response is triggered by the gesture rather than the speech. It seems that the audience is not only learning that the gesture calls for a response, but more importantly, that this response should only be given at a specific point in the gesture.

(47b)

Mark:	now it is Covent Garden we've gotta do some silly stuff (.) a practice WOO (.8)
Audience:	⇓woo:o △
Mark:	quite nice at the front that's lovely kinda crappy from these people over he(h)re com'on guy throw away your egos open up your chakra don't be all SUPErior about it a practice woo..and then we start a practice woo (.7)
Audience:	⇓WOO::O △
Mark:	lovely woos

Here again the strength of the audience's response is commented on by the performer who asks for a second take. The second "woo" is louder and longer, and once again, performed on the stroke phase of the gesture. The performer seems satisfied with this response, as his comment "lovely woos" suggests[4].

The final step for teaching the audience "woo" as a specific response to a gesture is to use the gesture without explicitly asking for a response. In example 47c, Mark starts using the gesture as he finishes describing to the audience the trick that constitutes the finale of his show. He prepares

[4]Note there is no sustainment phase in the first gesture, the significance of which is discussed in section 8.4.

for the gesture as he finishes his utterance (“ cut..chunks of flesh from..my..limbs”). Unlike example 48, the audience does not respond immediately after the end of the utterance, leaving a 0.6 second gap between the end of the performer’s utterance and the beginning of the audience’s “woo”. The pause between the performer’s turn and the audience’s turn is partly due to a late onset of the performer’s gesture, but also a delay in the audience’s response. This delay could be the result of the audience needing to work out what is expected of them. Similarly, their response is not very loud, indicating that not that many people responded, possibly because they were unsure of how to respond.

(47c)

Mark:	now very soon guys for the grand finale I juggle a full speed (.) running chainsaw I also juggle under my leg (.) I also juggle it behind my back and sometimes I make mistakes and cut (.) chunks of flesh from (.) my (.) limbs (.6)
Audience:	woo::o
Mark:	((ironically)) excitement...

The response the performer gets from the audience is not perfect in the sense that it does not exactly match the pattern presented in section 8.2. The irony in his tone of voice acts as a comment on that imperfection. Yet, unlike examples 47a and 47b, he carries on and does not explicitly comment on the audience’s reaction or get the audience to repeat their turn. A possible interpretation of Mark’s reaction is that, since it was the first time he used the gesture in that context, and because it came immediately after the training, he considered the audience’s response as good enough. Although the response might not have been as loud and immediate as he could have expected it to be, the audience provided the appropriate response, that is, “woo”. As example 49 demonstrates, this is not always the case, and on several occasions, the performer needs to reinforce the paired gesture-woo response.

8.3.1 Reproducing the Gesture in Later Interaction

(49)

Mark:	Mi-Mikael it's not sexual it's not sexual everybody it's English⇓ comedy(.2)⇑
Audience:	yeah
Mark:	And once I'm on the bike I finish with three razor machetes on the bike and then don't forget grand finale full speed chainsaw juggling under the leg behind the back maybe slicing flesh from (.) my (.) limbs⇓ (.1)
Audience:	yea⇑:h
Mark:	ho com'on guys stay with the programme I've got more noise from these three volunteers heh com'on guys I go like this ((performs a small incomplete version of the gesture)) everybody goes woo

Example 49 takes place 2.5 minutes after example 47. It is the first time Mark re-uses the gesture since teaching it. His first use of the gesture triggers a mild delayed "yeah" response from the audience. The performer does not directly comment on that response. However, he re-raises the context in which he last successfully used the gesture with "don't forget..." and repeats the gesture, this time using the same words he used in example 47c ("flesh from (.) my (.) limbs"). The audience responds faster and louder, but yet again, the response is "yeah" and not "woo".

The performer's next utterance is twofold. First, he comments on the audience's response. His statement that the audience is not "staying with the program" is consistent with the idea that he is expecting "woo" rather than "yeah", while his comment on the fact that he is getting more noise from the three volunteers shows that he expects a louder reaction from the audience. However, it only really makes the audience accountable for not providing a loud response.

Second, Mark's utterance makes explicit that his gesture is a sign for the audience to produce a specific response, that is, "woo". At the same time, he reinforces the idea that he expects a loud response with the term "everybody". This sets a different kind of accountability on the audience; audience members must not only provide a loud enough response, which constitutes a form of normal or expected behaviour from an audience, they must also provide the right type of response. Note that for all subsequent uses of the gesture by the performer, the response the audience produces is "woo"[5].

This raises the question of why the sound produced by the audience is important to the performer. Mark's rationale for using the sound "woo" is that it "represents excitement and tension" (example 50). It could be that it helps to underline the performative character of certain actions by creating a specific adjacency pair, one where a specific response is conditionally

[5]Unless the performer specifically asks for a different response, as studied in section 8.5.

relevant. Although this speculation helps distinguish a "woo" response from a greeting-greeting pair ("hello") or from "yeah" it does not easily explain why "woo" is different from say, applause or cheers. Example 52 shows that even a relatively enthusiastic response composed of applause and cheers is treated as not 'sufficient'. It could be that "woo" has a clear rise-fall contour that cheers do not have. Or that it can be elicited on top of applause as illustrated in example 55. Or maybe the sound itself is not important, what is is the action of teaching a non-spontaneous response to the audience, making them aware of their own actions, but also partitioning the audience into different groups (in this case, those who are initiated and those who are not). This partitioning is further exemplified in the way the performer addresses subgroups of the audience in example 50 ("if you just arrived").

The audience's *wrong* response is comparable to the silence from Sham's audience (example 37). And like Sham, Mark lets the audience get away with it the first time, but not the second time. After the second wrong response, Mark sets out to teach the audience the appropriate behaviours in terms of when to respond—"I go like this"—and how to respond—"everybody goes woo".

Example 50 is another example where the performer re-uses the gesture in order to elicit woos, this time successfully. Nevertheless, although the audience responds "woo", the performer still comments on the response ("if you've just arrived that's woo"). This is most likely a reaction to the fact that the "woo" is slightly shorter, showing once again that the performer is sensitive to the strength of the audience's reaction. Although the timing of the audience's response is instant, the performer uses the shorter response as an opportunity for explanation and appraisal.

(50)

Mark:	I juggle three razor machetes on bike then finish the show with full speed chainsaw under my leg behind my back and maybe slice flesh from (.) my (.) limbs
Audience:	WOO:O
Mark:	if you've just arrived that's woo okay get ready i-i-it represents excitement heh and tension

In order to teach the audience to produce a specific sound ("woo") in response to a specific gesture, Mark goes through a very systematic process. First, he trains the audience to respond to the gesture by eliciting evident responses using adjacency pairs ("hello"-"hello"). Second, he trains the audience to produce "woo" as a specific response while still performing the gesture. Third, he takes away the instruction while performing the gesture, with the expectation that the audience will produce "woo". When this third step takes place just after, the audience's response

is the expected one. However, once other unrelated events have taken place since the last use of the gesture, the audience fails to respond “woo” and instead responds “yeah”. At this point, the performer must explicitly teach the audience that the rule is still active in order to get them to produce the ‘right’ response.

8.4 Relevance of the Different Phases of the Gesture

Some movements act as units. For example, when the performer starts raising his arms from behind his back all the way to shoulder height, he always performs the complete motion. He may stop as soon as he reaches completion of the stroke and not hold the gesture, but very rarely in the middle of the stroke. These unitary segments of the gesture are what was termed phase in section 8.2.1, namely preparation, stroke and sustainment phases. Looking at the instances where the performer’s gesture diverges from the normal pattern presented in section 8.2.1, this section studies how each of these phases holds a specific relevance for the interaction.

8.4.1 Preparation Phase

(51)

```
Mark:      if I mess it up again (.)  I'm taking off (.) my trousers
           (.5)
Audience:  WOO:O
Mark:      ho com'on folks with a little body like this it's when
           I need the more encouragement if I mess it up again (.)
           I'm taking off (.)  the trousers
Audience:  WOO::O
Mark:      heh now you're getting excited heh
```

In example 51, Mark uses the gesture, but the preparation phase is absent. Instead, he mimics lowering his trousers (see Figure 8.2) to illustrate the fact that if he misses the next trick, he will be taking off his trousers. Instead of bringing his hands up in front of him, as he would to initiate the preparation phase, he goes straight into the stroke phase of the gesture. The suppression of the preparation phase has the effect of delaying the response from the audience, which also happens to be short. Mark’s comment on that response (“ho com’on folks...”) shows he is not satisfied with it.

Figure 8.2: Filmstrip of Mark’s gesture mimicking to lower his trousers.

Mark re-elicits the audience's response by repeating his first utterance but most importantly by repeating the gesture. This time, however, he adds the preparation phase. The audience responds immediately after the completion of the stroke phase, which also coincides with the end of the performer's utterance. The response is also longer than before, suggesting a larger audience participation. The performer's positive comment ("now you're getting excited") shows he is satisfied with the response.

The preparation phase acts as a synchrony mechanism. Without it, the audience's response is delayed and the number of audience members who contribute diminishes. In example 51, the performer's re-introduction of the preparation phase the second time shows that he is sensitive to its importance.

8.4.2 Stroke Phase

(52)

Mark:	that means I have no choice except (.) to take off (.) the trousers (1.0)
Audience:	((cheers + applause))
Mark:	and the crowd goes woo
Audience:	woo::o
Mark:	ho com'on guys I've been taking steroids and everything heh

In example 52, the performer uses a completely different gesture in order to elicit a response from the audience. He rips off his Velcro-sided trousers and stands with his arms wide open. In response to that gesture, the audience claps and cheers. This response appears not to be the one expected by the performer as he immediately follows with a comment ("and the crowd goes woo") doubled with the woo-eliciting gesture. This time, the audience's response is "woo" but not a loud one. Again, the performer shows he is not entirely satisfied with the response ("ho com'on guys...").

There seems to be a discrepancy between the performer's understanding of the situation, and that of the audience. For the performer, there is a form of adjacency pair between any open-armed paused gesture and a "woo" response. For the audience, "woo" comes as a response to a very specific gesture. In example 52, although the performer seems to be teaching the audience what to do one more time, it also appears to serve the function of allowing him to correct his gesture for it to fit the audience's expectations. Only then can he hold the audience accountable for not providing a loud enough response.

8.4.3 Sustainment Phase

In normal cases, the audience and the performer are in synchrony and it is difficult to tell which has stopped first, the audience's "woo"s or the performer's gesture (example 48). However, in most cases, the "woo"s stop shortly after the performer's gesture stops. Consequently, when the performer is unsatisfied with the audience's response from its onset, he barely sustains the gesture. In example 47b for example, Mark does not sustain the gesture at all because he realises that only the first row of the audience is responding. He stops his gesture at the end of the stroke phase. Similarly, when the audience provides the 'wrong' response in example 49, Mark barely sustains the gesture.

The sustainment phase is particularly important in situations where the audience's response is not simultaneous with the stroke phase, but starts when the gesture is already in its sustainment phase. For instance, such a situation can arise if the audience's response is delayed (example 47c) or if the performer's utterance overlaps with the stroke phase of the gesture (examples 51 and 52). Because the audience's response tends to die as soon as the gesture is over, the performer will have to sustain the gesture for longer if he wants to achieve a loud and long response.

Additionally, there are no instances where the performer stops his gesture before the audience's response is on its way. This observation and the fact that he sustains the gesture for longer if the audience's response is delayed show that he is sensitive to the importance of his gesture as a synchrony mechanism for the audience's response.

Although the speed and length of the gesture are not necessarily identical between repetitions, the audience generally produces its response at the same point in the gesture. Three phases, which are unitary moments of the gesture, serve to analyse the precise timing of the interaction. Each phase of the gesture holds a specific role in the interaction both as an element of turn-taking between the performer and the audience, and as a synchrony mechanism among audience members.

The audience relies on the preparation phase to know when to start their response. The onset of the response depends on two criteria: (a) the end of the preparation phase and (b) the end of the performer's utterance. Interestingly, audience members do no start responding until the performer finishes his utterance. However, they do not start either if the utterance is finished but the preparation phase of the gesture is incomplete.

The stroke phase indicates to the audience what response is appropriate, and is therefore key

if the performer expects a specific response. Although audience members generally appear to provide a response to a certain category of large paused gestures, in this case, when trained to provide a specific response, they will only provide it in response to the taught gesture.

The sustainment phase acts as a synchrony element that tells audience members how long they should sustain their response for. The audience's response dies shortly after the performer stops the gesture. This mechanism allows the performer to efficiently get the floor back without having to speak over loud audience responses.

8.5 Using Gesture to Elicit Other Responses

Once the pair gesture-woo response is well established, the performer can use the same gesture to successfully elicit other audience responses.

(53)

Mark:	A practice cheer⇓hooray= △
Audience:	=hooray:::
Mark:	a scream⇓HAA:[A △
Audience:	[HAA::A
Mark:	lovely an animal noise of your choice⇓(.5)
Audience:	((noises))==HAH △
Mark:	hum interesting choices lovely a lot of you been choosing quite silent animals that's okay

In example 53, the performer uses the same gesture, but this time, he explicitly asks the audience for other responses ("hooray", "a scream HAA" and "an animal noise"). Like example 47a, where the performer initially introduced the gesture with "hello", the stoke phase of the gesture overlaps with the performer's utterance of the noise he expects the audience to produce. This time however, for the first two occurrences (the hoorays and the screams), there is absolutely no delay between the end of the performer's turn and the beginning of the audience's. The audience is now trained to produce the right kind of response with the right timing, and this additional 'practice' sequence further clarifies the organisation of the gesture.

Note that a delay in the audience's response is introduced again when the performer asks for the production of animal noises. Why is this? In many "practice" cases, the performer finishes the utterance that immediately precedes the audience's response with the verbal noise he wants the audience to produce. This is the case with the elicitation of "hello" (example 47a), of the practice "woo" (example 47b), as well as the "hooray" and the "haa" (example 53). These last two examples are particularly noticeable because the performer starts with naming the response ("a

practice cheer", "a scream"), but follows it with the particular noise he is expecting the audience to produce. In doing so, he facilitates the audience's work and eliminates any confusion about what constitutes a cheer or a scream. Audience members only need to repeat the last sound they heard. In the case of the animal noise, the audience cannot simply follow the process they have been trained to, they cannot simply repeat the last sound they heard, since it is inconsistent with the task they have been assigned. As a result, the onset of the response is delayed and few audience members respond. This confusion creates a comedy effect, as marked by the general laughter that follows.

8.5.1 What About Rhetoric?

With the exception of the animal noise example —probably a voluntary comedy effect based on divergence from the norm— the examples presented above use two rhetorical techniques to elicit a response.

1. The performer finishes the utterance preceding the response with the verbal noise he wants the audience to produce ("woo", "hello", "haa", "hooray").

2. The performer uses two pauses in the final part of his utterance (see examples 47c, 49 and 50: "from **(.)** my **(.)** limbs"; and example 51 and 52: "if I mess it up again **(.)** I'm taking off **(.)** my trousers").

In the second technique the two pauses divide the final part of the performer's utterance into three chunks, creating a three-part list. Three-part lists are rhetorical devices used by public speakers to elicit audience responses (Atkinson, 1984a, 1984b, and others, see section 2.2). In the CA literature, three-part lists are commonly made of three phrases, which, put into public speeches, are used to enhance persuasion. Here, the performer makes a creative use of the device, for its rhythmical quality rather than for its persuasive attribute. The first example 3-part list: (1) "from", (2) "my", and (3) "limb", is actually part of another three-part list: (1) "under my leg", (2) "behind my back", and (3) "and maybe slice flesh from my limbs" (example 54). This is a common trait of natural conversation (Jefferson, 1991).

(54)

```
Mark:  I juggle three razor machetes on bike then finish the show
       with full speed chainsaw under my leg (.)  behind my back
       (.)  and maybe slice flesh (.)  from (.)  my (.)  limbs
```

8.6 Using Gesture on Top of Applause

In street performances, clapping is one of the most frequent types of response. Audiences clap at the end of a trick, they applaud volunteers on stage, they clap rhythmically because they are asked to. Not all claps are similar. Some are elicited by the performer for no other reason than the noise they produce, while others act as a sign of praise or approval. Interactionally, the former plays the same role as the "woos" in example 47b or the "hoorays", the screams and the animal noises in example 53. The audience produces them because they are asked. Although their production is closely linked with how successful the performer is at managing the audience, they do not constitute a direct measure of the audience's appreciation of the performer's act. This section aims to show that this form of applause is also directly shaped through a process of training.

Example 55 takes place shortly after example 53. In a manner similar to the way he has done it so far, Mark asks the audience for a practice clap. This time however, instead of the gesture presented previously, Mark starts to clap as he says "a practice clap from everybody, a practice clap". Although the performer has already verbally expressed his expectation of a clapping audience ("okay folks just a very quick practice clap please"), not a single member of the audience has responded to this verbal injunction. The first people who start to clap only do so when the performer starts bringing his hands together in the beginning of a clapping gesture. In a way, the opening hand gesture is comparable to the preparation phase discussed earlier. It warns the audience that it will be their turn to join in. Similarly, the continuous speech of the performer acts as a way of sustaining the applause. Soon after the performer stops speaking, the applause progressively dies.

(55)[6]

```
Mark:  Okay folks just a very quick practice clap please
       a practice clap from everybody a practice
        ((hands apart)) x    x    x    x    x    x    x   x   x
Aud.:                x  x    x    xx   xx   xx   xx   X   X   X
Mark:  ho com'on folks let's get some people running down here
Aud.:    X    X      X wo o::o X      X      X      X    WOO::O X
          some stop          start
           to clap     clapping again
Mark:  com'on guys let's get] a big crowd over
Aud.:     X    X     X WOO::O] X      X     X     X   X  xx  xx  x  x
                                                first people
                                                stop to clap
```

When the audience's clapping is fully underway, the performer's clapping stops and he goes back to using the woo-eliciting gesture. The preparation phase of this gesture triggers some

[6]On the third line of the transcript, each x represents the moment where the performer's hands come together. The line below represents the audience's claps. See Appendix A for notation conventions.

audience members to stop clapping, as if this change of gesture was marking some sort of topic change, making the audience clapping no longer relevant. However, most of the audience members who stop clapping at that point, start again shortly. The fact that they start clapping again contributes to the idea that they stopped clapping because they understood the performer's change of gesture as topic change rather than an invitation to reinforce the audience's response—through a mix of applause and "woos" for instance.

The following instances of the gesture slightly differ; that is, the performer drops the preparation phase of the gesture but adds a sustainment phase. By not sustaining the gesture the first time, the performer shows he is aware of those who stopped clapping. The absence of a preparation phase in the next two instances of the gesture contributes to the idea that he realised the counter-productivity of his gesture. In this context, the preparation phase of the gesture is highly significant for audience members and some respond to it by contributing entirely new content to the interaction.

Another reaction this gesture elicits from the audience is "woo". This response appears normal after analysing the efforts the performer puts into teaching the audience to respond "woo" to this specific gesture. However, it is an unusual audience's response when compared with other shows in the corpus. Consistently, across all the shows recorded, when audience applause is underway and the performer makes some form of large up-and-down arm gesture, the gesture triggers cheering. If such a gesture is used in the absence of applause, the audience's response is usually a mixture of cheers and applause as per example 52.

The fact that in this particular example, the audience's response is specifically "woo" and not what could be categorised as a general cheer—sounding more like "yeah"—shows how robust the teaching of audience responses can be. However, this effect of robustness should be moderated with regards to the initial difficulty the performer experienced when trying to elicit a "woo" response outside of its original context (section 8.3).

Atkinson (1984b) already noted the capacity of applause "to drown out and/or take over other types of response" (p.371). This example further reveals the multi-modal nature of audience responses. Vocal responses intensify audience applause. The performer's gestures play a crucial role in both the elicitation and the synchronisation of these responses. However, the way turn-taking takes place between the performer's speech and the audience's applause differs from the observation made in CA literature. In the setting of public speaking, Atkinson and others have

identified a mechanism by which speakers project completion of their turn, at which point the audience produces applause. At the end of the audience's applause the speaker resumes his speech with little or no overlap. Here, the performer's speech and the audience's response overlap for most of their production, and it is the end of the performer's turn that signals to the audience that they can stop clapping. This overlap reveals a particular type of audience responses, which are a collaborative construction of the performer and the audience. The resulting interaction is not a dyadic conversation between them but an address to a third recipient external to the performance, in this case the passers-by. Because applause and cheers are usually produced as displays of affiliation to the speaker or the performer, they broadcast to the external observer a situation worthy of attention or interest. Street performers clearly make use of such expectation among passers-by as a technique to gather a bigger crowd.

8.7 Conclusions

Although rhetorical devices and large gestures can automatically trigger a response from an audience, street performers cannot rely on these alone to systematically elicit responses that are a) the expected response and b) produced in the expected tempo and with the expected magnitude. To compensate for a wrong response or an absent one, street performers explicitly teach their audience when and how to contribute. They establish a trigger action (verbal or gestural), upon which, when performed by the performer, the audience is expected to provide a specific response. Once this action-response pair is established, the audience tends to maintain it throughout the performance.

The exact timing of the audience's response relies on complex mechanisms. Gesture plays a crucial role in giving individual audience members cues of when to prepare to respond, and then start their response. Gesture can also contribute to sustaining or stopping the response. These mechanisms are part of a larger interactional system, where features of the performer's speech, gesture and inter-audience monitoring all contribute to the creation of a synchronised collective response.

Throughout the show, a form of adjacency pair is established between a set of trigger techniques and the audience's response. Audience responses are appraised by systematic feedback and the appropriate responses are judged not only on the type of response given, but also on their timing and loudness. This need for Covent Garden street audiences to be taught when and how to

respond is rarely seen in more formal types of performances (although TV-set audience cue cards are reminiscent of these techniques). Theatre audiences for example do not need to be taught that applause should be restricted to the end of the performance. Nor do opera audiences need to be taught to clap at the end of a solo.

CA studies have shown that the management of turn-taking between audiences and public speakers relies on specific rhetorical devices produced by the speaker to elicit a response from the audience. The present analysis helps to address this issue by showing how gestures are used in coordination with speech to manage turn-taking at a lower level. In the examples studied, rhetorical devices prime the audience to produce a response while gesture triggers the onset and sustains the response.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

Audiences are often seen as responding to performance on the basis of their subjective reactions; that is, they applaud acts that are good and they laugh at what is funny. Variations in audience responses come from social, historical or gender differences and are little influenced by the surrounding environment. This conception of audience behaviour is deeply misleading because it does not account for much of the work audiences do. The most salient work is the production of finely tuned and highly synchronised collective responses, as demonstrated by the CA studies presented in Chapter 2.

The present work has analysed the verbal and gestural interactions of street performers, passers-by and audience members in a number of Covent Garden street shows. These interactions have been established as constitutive of the creation of a performance situation in public settings. It has been shown that street performers manage groups of passers-by into a collective body and that through actively seeking participation, they establish audience membership. The interactionally complex situation of street perfomances is organised at a level of detail that demands fine grained analysis. This concluding chapter aims to withdraw from the fine-grained examination of audience interactions in order to reflect on a more global picture of the social organisation of street performances and audiences.

Throughout, this thesis has unpacked the complex interactional layers that contribute to establishing a street performance space. As studied in Chapter 5, the presence of physical elements of and in the space, although they greatly impact the layout of the audience, are not sufficient for establishing a performance. This finding has implications for the design of performance spaces as

it suggests that, from an interactional point of view, *empty spaces* as envisioned by performance studies do not exist. Even when stripped from the elements typical of classical theatre, such as stage, curtain, spotlights, darkness, and so on, it takes more than "a man walk[ing] across this empty space whilst someone else is watching him" to create an "act of theatre" (Brook, 1968, p.7)).

The physical presence of others in a seemingly bare space is meaningful, in ways which can sometimes deter the successful unfolding of the performance. For an act to be recognised as "an act of theatre", it must be displayed to others as such, and mutual recognition that this is the case must be achieved. We have practically established that, in street performance, space, performativity and audience membership are interactionally constructed and result from an active collaboration between performers, passers-by and audience members. In doing so, we have deepened not only understanding of audience interaction but also of what makes an act performative.

Spaces dedicated to performance, such as theatre and opera houses, help frame the events that take place in them, and contribute to displaying that their interactions are purposefully designed as performance. This is equally true of costumes, spotlights, stages, darkness, and so on. Although this thesis demonstrates that these elements of decorum are not sufficient to creating a performance, their absence can potentially be problematic. Further research is needed to investigate the impact that performing in non dedicated spaces (termed 'found spaces' in performance studies) has on the performance itself. Does this create difficulties for the audience to engage with the performance because they have to work harder to recognise what is part of the performance and what is not? Does it affect the acting of the performers because they too have to work harder to display to the audience when they are performing and when they are not? The elements of interaction exposed in this thesis provide grounds for analysing how the different elements of a performance, from space, to objects, to audience layout and performers interaction, change the dynamics of audience interaction.

To the extent that the interactions between performers and audiences are rarely disturbed by a third participant, both the theatrical and the public speaking situations are comparable to dyadic conversations. In a theatrical situation however, there is no confusion as to who is part of the frame of the performance (actors and audience) and who is not. In street performances, the introduction of a third type of participant—the passers-by—complicates the interaction.

From the point of view of the performer, passers-by are not just passers-by, they are potential

audience members. Among them, some are already committed to watching the performance, others need to be enticed to stop and watch, while some probably never become aware of it taking place. The preparation of the performance is therefore the management of those passers-by, to regulate the space, both on stage and in the auditorium, and to create an audience, that is a group committed to witness and participate in the performance. Chapter 6 showed that the theatrical display of physical elements and actions is key to making the performative situation intelligible to these passers-by.

In performances where interactions between performers and individual audience members are frequent, such as live-comedy or the type of street performances studied in this thesis, the first row or rows are a form of liminal space, where audience members can at any time be selected as temporary performers. Chapter 7 showed that, in Covent Garden, the management of the audience layout is an opportunity to organise the audience according to their willingness to engage in direct individual interaction with the performer. Further work should examine the ways in which street performers select audience participants, either as volunteers to come on stage, or as momentary recipients of a particular joke. This work suggests that the positioning of individual audience members in space and within the audience, along with other interactional cues such as gaze and body orientation, help street performers predict the acceptance or declination of an invitation to individually take part.

Broth (2011) argues that in a theatrical situation, the mechanisms that regulate turn-taking are different from those in ordinary conversation. Between actors the next speaker is intrinsically selected; that is, the next speaker starts his turn when the previous one finishes his line, as rehearsed. Between actors and audiences, because the audience is in a position of overhearer, it can only self-select. As a result, a turn by the audience is never *conditionally relevant*, that is there are no adjacency pairs. However, we demonstrated that this statement is not true in street performances where audience responses are explicitly projected for by the performer. On this ground, the interactional processes presented in chapters 7 and 8, posit Covent Garden street performances as a heterogeneous form mixing ordinary conversational interactions and formal dramatic events. The public setting in which these performances take place forces street performers to align with the casual form of interactions that normally take place within it, and the necessary construction of membership in the audience forces street performers to ratify audience participation. However, because of the nature of the situation they are trying to establish, street performers must distinguish

themselves from casual encounters. As a result, ordinary conversational devices are required to attract attention and manage the crowd, but dramatic embodied techniques are necessary to maintain and build it up.

The complex management of the public situation on the one hand, and the emerging performance on the other hand, render a clear-cut distinction between dramatic and casual interactions difficult. Chapter 7 showed that seemingly conversational interactions between passers-by and performers can also be dramatic forms of audience engagement, while contributing to the overall recognition of the privileged aspect of the space.

Recall Goffman's (1981) participation framework (discussed in section 3.2.1). In street performances, shifts of footing are an integral part of building and managing the performance, constantly identifying those who are part of the frame of the performance and those who are not. In other forms of performance this framing is established ahead of the performance. Buildings isolate the performance from outsiders, audience members generally make an informed decision when electing to attend, and as a result, they already form a community, that is, the community of those who want to attend this event. This community is particularly important in the type of performance where the response of the audience is a conditionally relevant, as is the case in participative type of performances, since it enables collective responses.

In public speaking situations, like those studied by Atkinson (1984a) and others, the audience is a ratified participant. Consequently, public speakers design their speech using devices that help the audience identify when their turn is imminent. However, because of the nature of collective addresses, where the distinction between addressed ratified participant and unaddressed ratified participant is fuzzy, the audience does not need to give signs of their intention to self-select, they just do, and it is up to the speaker to accommodate.

Given the interactional evidence presented throughout this thesis, Goffman's participation framework helps us identify what, in Covent Garden street performances, constitutes an act. In a sense, a street performance is established when the participation frame of the performance becomes self-regulated. When this self-regulation occurs, those within the frame of the performance follow and sustain its rules, while those outside of it, recognise it taking place and avoid disturbing it. When broken down according to participant's role, the audience should respond when prompted and self-select when appropriate and passers-by should avoid crossing the performance area (stage and auditorium). When this takes place, the performer can focus on the act per se.

The amount of work street performers put into building membership reveals its fundamental role for audiences in general. In many situations, membership pre-exists the actual gathering of the audience. Electing to attend an event is an act of positioning oneself as a member of a community. Novices to the community are generally introduced by others within it, and are submitted to an explicit or implicit transfer of the rules of membership. People who attend a political speech for example generally fall within the category of supporter or opponent to the party. The same can be said of football fans, concert-goers and of most audiences.

Street performances are among the only performance situations where the gathering of the audience is not motivated by membership, but occurs opportunistically. To the extent that they are motivated by curiosity or interest, the people who gather around a street performance are comparable to the crowd that forms around a house on fire or a car accident, without the dimension of affect that such life threatening events generate[1]. They are a group of random individuals who do not share a community.

Membership of a group lowers the threshold of self awareness and fear of social embarrassment, but also, and this is especially salient in street performance, raises the level of social desirability and eagerness to do as other members of the group. For street performers, this social mechanism enables the elicitation of audience participation, in the form of collective responses, such as applause and cheering, but more importantly, it impacts their financial success. The first people to donate—who would likely donate if membership were not actively established—create a ripple effect, where the action of donating encourages other people—people who would probably not have donated in other situations.

The link between membership and audience responses is worth refining here. For audiences, membership enables unsolicited collective responses, or otherwise described earlier as self-selected audience turns; responses which are difficult to obtain in the absence of membership. Conversely, the artificially elicited collective responses are one of the ways by which street performers establish membership. Does this mean that repeated collective responses, whether elicited or unsolicited reinforce the feeling of membership among the audience? How can membership be quantified?

Addressing this question calls for further investigation of signs of rapport among members of the audience, and in particular among strangers. A quantitative and qualitative analysis of the rhythms in the audience over time would deepen the understanding of membership in audiences.

[1] Arguably, affect (and empathy) is what creates membership among the people watching a house on fire, and street performers use this especially as they approach the finale and the moment to elicit payment.

Do audience movements synchronise over time? How much checking of each others' response is performed? Is a pattern in audience responses propagation identifiable? Does one's position in the audience impact the amount of contribution?

Audiences are found everywhere from museums to conference talks to outdoor live events and are increasingly becoming a target for technology. The effective engagement of audiences, whether as paying customers, actively participating audience members or as early adopters or disseminators of a product, artwork or a new technology, has become a lucrative business. Without a complete understanding of how individual actions produce the interactional dynamics of audience, attempts to design either a performance or a technology to engage that audience are at risk of failing to achieve the intended effect. The common principles uncovered with other, better studied, forms of social practices reveal that this study has implication not only for other social practices, but also for other disciplines.

The analysis undertaken in this work has revealed non-trivial elements that ethnography studies in human geography had previously failed to uncover (e.g., see Simpson, 2008, 2011, 2012, section 3.1.3). The examination of how architectural features and objects define the performance space, and more crucially, how they impact or not interactions, necessitate a level of detail that cannot be accessed without the use of replay technologies such as video. These interactions are especially important because they expose the ways in which street performances are integrated within the urban environment. They help to forecast the disruption of pedestrian flows and activities, possibly impacting policy making. To a certain extent, this is reflected in Covent Garden policies, where the busier streets, like James street, and in particular its upper part near the Underground station, has stricter performance restrictions. As it is a thoroughfare, James street performers are not supposed to actively assemble an audience. This rule is respected in most of the street, yet, at the bottom of the street, where the passage widen, magicians who actively assemble an audience, can often be seen.

In London, policy makers and street performers appear to have reasonable acceptance of each other. Although street performances are regulated, they are allowed in most tourist places. Street performers seem to be aware of the overall flow of people and to self organise as to not block thoroughfares. However, the variations in regulation between London boroughs, between different urban setting popular with street performers such as subways, parks, or piazza, or between city in the UK and around the world, are evidence that there is scope for better understanding of street

performances in the urban environment. Like London Underground, subways in metropolises such as Paris and New York City have developed thorough regulations for musical performances, often via way of audition. However, the status of circus-like performances such as those studied in this thesis, often remains controversial. New York City Department of Parks and Recreations Rules[2] were recently amended and consider performers seeking a donation as vendors, therefore subjecting them to obtaining a vending permit and in some parks, to compete for space with all types of vendors.

These variations in policy making call for further investigation of different types of street performances. Why are subway performances limited to musical performances? How do these performances differ from circus-like shows? From statue acts? Could other type of acts be performed in subway corridors without disruptions? In the case of New York City's regulations, would a performer who does not explicitly elicit payment and yet receives donations be considered a vendor? How do statue act, for which direct interaction with passers-by is limited (probably more so than music performances), successfully attract a static crowd and donations? The findings of this thesis support an interactional hypothesis and provide ways in which such questions can be investigated.

In street performances, the lack of a pre-existent framing of the event as performance resulting in the need for street audiences to be taught how and when to respond, has implications for the study of other forms of performance. The disruption of expected conventions that some modern performances experiment with (see section 2.1.3), may in fact confuse the audience and hinder participation. This study shows—and public speakers for instance, are experts at doing this (see section 2.2)—that guidance and directions enable people to produce collective responses, which are inherent to the construction of the audience. Performances can be studied as social situations to which audience members are active participants. Members of the audience contribute not only in sustaining the performance through their timely produced responses, they also participate in building it. In this respect, performance practitioners and management specialists probably have much to learn from one another. Audience management is not limited to performance situation, and many findings of this thesis can be applied to group management in general. A common and potentially misleading conception is that engagement and attentiveness of a group is displayed through a silent and static attitude where all individual members face the speaker (e.g.,

[2] `http://www.nycgovparks.org/pagefiles/57/expressive-matter-faq.pdf`

see D. Pertaub, Slater, & Barker, 2001; D.-P. Pertaub, Slater, & Barker, 2002; Slater, Pertaub, & Steed, 1999). Teachers, group leaders and other public speakers often request the 'undivided attention' of their audience and assuming that interaction between members of the group signify distraction from the group. The work presented in this thesis contradicts this conception and suggests that group cohesion is achieved through managed interactions amongst the members of the group, setting clear expectations of how and when to contribute.

This necessary management of audiences, and the central part interaction plays in attracting an audience, also has repercussions for the design of technology in public spaces. How can computer systems that attract and manage audiences in public places be built? Its modality could be an interactive screen, an avatar or a robot. Its purpose advertising, education, or just to make the space work better. The difficulty some studies (e.g., see Brignull & Rogers, 2003; O'Hara et al., 2008, section 3.1.3) report having in engaging the first audience members calls for interaction-smart designs. Examples of installations, often developed by artists, that have been successful at impromptu engagement of individuals and crowds are sources of inspiration (e.g., see Volkswagen's Piano Stairs[3] or art installations in Mounajjed, Peng, & Walker, 2007). The present work suggests that broadening the approach from human-system interaction to foreground multiparty human-human interaction will be of benefit to the design of crowd-oriented systems.

What must such computer-system be able to do to assemble and retain an audience? For example, it may need sophisticated understanding of human body orientation and movement through space and in relation to each other. It may also need to employ strategies to teach the nascent audience where to look, how to act, when to respond. And it may need physical props to help delineate the space.

Finally, the most interesting question is whether a computer can or should try to do this on its own. Perhaps the best approach would be a human-computer team, with one or more human actors to help assemble the audience for the interactive computer. This sort of hybrid interaction happens all the time, for instance when a museum docent shows visiting children how to use an interactive exhibit. When friends or families gather around a tablet to share with each others videos that made them laugh. When a manager gathers his team around a Smart Board to work out a solution to a complex problem. Little attention had been given to the question of how group-computer interaction can be facilitated and enhanced by human-human interaction. Such questions could

[3]The Fun Theory: `http://www.thefuntheory.com/piano-staircase`

yield some very interesting multidisciplinary studies and a great topic for collaboration between interactionists, computer scientists, and performing (and other) artists.

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Appendix A

Notation Conventions

A.1 Speech Transcription Notation Conventions

These notations are freely adapted from Jefferson (2004).

`...`	long untimed pause or break
`(0.0)`	timed pause by tenths of a seconds
`wor-`	sharp cut-off
`wo:rd`	stretched preceding sound - the longer the column row, the longer the sound
`(words)`	a guess at what might have been said
`( )`	unclear talk
`word=word`	shows two sounds that run together; at the end or beginning of turn shows two turns that run together
`WORD`	loud
`word`	quiet
`((comment))`	a comment from the transcriber or something hard to transcribe phonetically
`wo(h)rd`	laughter “bubbling” with word
`hah`	individual laughter
`HAH`	group laughter
`[word]`	simultaneous speech by two or more speakers

A.2 Gesture Transcription Notation Conventions

word	motion performed during speech
word	gesture held during speech
word	onset of the stroke phase of a gesture
word	end delimiter of the stroke phase of a gesture
word	a significant gesture that differs from the one under scrutiny
x x	a series of individual claps
xx xx	a series of claps produced by several people at the same time
X X	a series of claps produced by a large portion of the audience together
xxx	individual applause
XXX	mass applause

Appendix B

QMUL Ethics Committee Approval

The following document was submitted to Queen Mary Research Ethics Committee for review on the 11 June 2008, and received the approval below.

Researching Audience Interactions in Covent Garden Market, London.

Project overview

This project arises as part of research for a Ph.D. It will be performed by Colombine Gardair, under the supervision of Dr. Patrick G. T. Healey. A Master's student from the Computer Science department will help with the collection of the data and part of the analysis.

This project aims to look at how audience members influence each other's behaviour (primarily through non-verbal communication, clapping, laughter, etc.) and how this is shaped by the performer him/herself. Although audiences have been studied from a variety of psychological, sociological and anthropological perspectives surprisingly little work has directly analysed the organisation of audience interaction (although see [Atkinson, 1984]).

Methods

This is an observational (ethnographic) study of audiences in Covent Garden market, London. We want to make video recordings, primarily for subsequent analysis, from more than one angle. We will be seeking written permission from the performers and the people who own the area but, for practical reasons, it is not possible to get written consent from every member of the audience. Each recording should last about 45 minutes (which is the average length of street performance shows in Covent Garden). The video recordings will be analysed by the above-mentioned researchers and additional statistical analysis will be performed.

Ethical concerns

The research does not directly aim to identify individuals in the crowd and no personal data will be collected however some of the analysis will depend on being able to categorise facial expressions and make estimates of, for example, gaze direction. Consequently people will be visually identifiable in some of the footage. It is worth noting in particular that the audience often includes children (indeed, they are usually specifically targeted to take part in some way by the performers).

Only Healey, Gardair and their M.Sc. student will have access to the corpus of video data collected. The data analysis itself will predominantly consist of developing generalisations about patterns of interaction which make no reference to individual identity but may, for example, involve reference to gender or age groups. However, it is usual to support analyses of this kind with stills and excerpts from the videos in presentations of the research and images in publications. These would mostly involve wide-angle shots (an example taken in Covent Garden is included below) but in some cases individual people in the audience might still be identifiable. We would ensure that specific individuals were not identifiable in images in archived publications

The areas where we intend to film are recognised as a public performance space and people do not have a heightened expectation of privacy. The area is extensively covered by CCTV, overlooked by balconies and many members of the audiences themselves take photos and video. As it happens short extracts from some of these videos surface on the YouTube website (http://www.youtube.com/).

Reference

[Atkinson, 1984] Atkinson, J. M. (1984). Public speaking and audience responses: some techniques for inviting applause. In Atkinson, J. M. and Heritage, J., editors, Structures of Social Action. Cambridge University Press.

Queen Mary Research Ethics Committee

To: Dr Pat Healey (Principal Investigator)
Ms Colombine Gardair

Ref no: N/A

Re: Proposed Filming in the Covent Garden Area

was considered by QMREC on 11th June 2008

Feedback:

In relation to the provisions of the Data Protection Act, data recorded in public spaces would not be considered to be personal data where there is no intention to identify the individuals from the images. It was deemed unlikely that the researcher in this study would be able to identify individuals from the images or indeed would have an interest in doing so.

With regard to the ethical issue of whether the researcher would need to seek explicit consent for filming. The Committee recognised that that it would be neither feasible for the researcher to obtain consent from the people that she would be filming, nor desirable in relation to the design of her study.

As such members **agreed** that the pragmatic advice of the ESCR was applicable to this project and, as such, neither specific consent nor full ethical review needed to be sought for her application. She is therefore at liberty to carry out her research without further delay

Further action:

None.

In the event of any problems or queries, do not hesitate to contact Ms Covill direct – 020 7882 2207.

Signed: Hazel Covill, Secretary to QMREC
(on behalf of the Committee)

Dated: 18th June 2008.

Appendix C

Speech-only Rough Transcript of one of Bruce's Show.

Produced in Transcriber.

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transcription notation conventions

..	short untimed pause of one-half second or less
...	short untimed pause of more than half a second
	an empty line indicates a long pause or a break
.h	in-breath
h	out-breath
wor-	sharp cut-off
wo:rd	stretch preceding sound
(words)	guess at what might have been said
( )	unclear talk
word=word	shows two sounds that run together;
	at the end or beginning of turn shows two turns
	that run together
WORD	loud
°word°	quiet
((comment))	comment or something hard to transcribe
	phonetically
wo(h)rd	laughter ``bubbling'' with word
heh	individual laughter
HAH	group laughter
[word]	simultaneous speech by two or more speakers

090916_Bruce

Bruce

°ho fuck°

hello

it's my turn

how exciting

hello madam

so .. hi

hum

it's my turn now to do my show

and..what I'm going to do hh

is I am going to

help this man get his things on-...look at this girl she's a profesional bird killer

she .. is being highly trained in .. killing birds

is ev'ryone good?

ye

OK so this is ye so .. I'm going to do my show now

so we just get some things of and .h you know .. hu:

°hu°

OK ... so:

what i'm going to do everyo:ne .. is I am going to .hh hu:=h ... ask a big big favour .hh just before I begin my show=h could I ask everyone .h hello gentleman how are you?

audience member

all right

Bruce

good ... .hh hehhehehh .hh

audience balcony

he's your manager

Bruce

excuse me

so what I do just before I begin .. I'm going to go .h I'm going to ask everyone just for no reason if you want to see a show .. and if you do this I'll give you a special treat this is how my show works .h if we work together .. show is good so .h I .. for my show I .. I take of the top and I lie on a bed of nails I juggle three clubs. .h just for the start of the show if everyone just for no reason clap that will give you a better trick so just for no reason everyone clap

audience

xxxxxxxxx

Bruce

hehhh that's excellent .. so I'm going to give you a special trick ... today ... I'll do my .. full show .h and I will set .. this up and then I will .h show everybody what exactly I do .. in my show .h so did everyone enjoy the last show?

good?

he's still here .h so just everyo(h)ne hehh .hh yeah they loved you yah

so this is him

so I give you a special trick now .. for being .h ho my god

this is your specia=ho look at this man .. look at this man behind the pole with his computer .h if he is not looking at po:rn right now

I would

well it's quite obvious:

hehh .h

hello

ho my god be careful women you have a very stange man following you ... that's it run

whehhhhh .h please leave the women alo:ne

and find something better to do yah?

so this is this is it so now I'm so the big trick look at this man with the headphones he cannot hear me .h=hello sir with the headphone I am gay and I love you

excuse me sir please take off your parachute you have lan:ded

that's mister serious

hehhhhh .hh so now bed of nails goes up here ... and I .h I do my big trick .. on top of the bed of nails

hu::

so what I'm going to do in a moment everyone I'm going to put the music on .hh and I'm going to get everything ready .. and we're going to do a good show h

everyone look at the man in the camouflage jacket .. because he thinks we cannot see him h .hh so everyone look at the man and get him really paranoid h

everyone look at the man in the sui:t with the white .. bag over his shoulder

I think that man has just had his first day in the job h .h and they have sacked him already h .h because he puts no sugar in the coffee h .hh ok and everyone look at the back of the man in the black T in the black shirt and the woman in the blue backpack .h because yesterday that man was with a different woman.

just a joking madam ... because she was here yesterday with another ma:n h .h OK hehh .h hello my friend .h where're you from?

audience member

Poland

Bruce

PO:land could I

audience

hah ah ah

Bruce

you're from PO:land could I ask you a que:stion: .h I am wondering .. if there are any .. PEople left in PO:land .. or are they a:ll in England

audience member

HAH [HA HA

Bruce

[hh heh hh OK so here we go

the man in the green jacket the green jacket that's my manager

hello Bob

the reason he's ignoring me is 'cause he's really embarassed .h because last night we went out for business drinks and he tried to mix business with pleasure ... he tried to kiss me hh .h you sick bastard hh .h OK so here we go hehhh .hh just=h .h just getting there slowly but surely ... Rome wasn't built in a day ... ho my god excuse me sir excuse me excuse me sir with the suit .h just just with the umbrella just think of anything you could want to with the umbrella right now that could make the crowd laugh .h do something with the umbrella

that would make ... ho my god ... here we go

hu:

audience member

hu hah ha ha ha ha

Bruce

hehhh hehhh .hh thank you .. where you fro=hehhhh where you from

audience member

France

Bruce

France .. FRANce

audience member

wooh

Bruce

ho my god

audience

[hah ha ha

Bruce

hehhh ye .hh this man is .. really madly in love with you

137.
138. OK so this is yeah .h so this girl's down here .. excuse me you are standing too clos:e could you take three steps backwards: ... thank you
139. **audience**
140. hah ha ha
141. **Bruce**
142.
143. look at the ma:n in the black suit look how nervous he is .h and I explain why that man is nervous it's because that man is on his way to the airport .h and that bag is full of drugs
144. **audience**
145. hah ha ha
146. **Bruce**
147. I saw a ticket to Jamaica ... so good luck .. getting through customs .h heh .h I am going to put on music and I am going to start my show .h and just before I begin .. ho my god look at this look at this man with the bro:wn .. case over here .h that man has stolen all the company funds from the office
148.
149. and he is on his way to Thailand .. with the office boy hehhh .hh to retire ... you have fun in Thailand .. do not spend all that money on Thai massage .. and ... and and watch out for the Thai girls because .. some of them have surprise package
150.
151. I put on music and I ... I start my show .. and just before I begin ... I go show ti:me ... I g(h)o .h I go show ti:me .. and when I go show time everybody go ye:ah .. OK so I go show time .. and you people go yeah. ready? .. show ti:me
152. **audience**
153. ye::ah
154. **Bruce**
155. excellent
156. *[ent=Music]*
157. what I did then everyone is I just put the music on just to get a few more people interested .h we now have some more people interested so: .. I will start the show. .h just all the people at the back ..just come a little bit closer because if I block off the back I get shot down so everyone who's standing right at the back .h please come a little bit closer so I do not get shot down .. just if you're at the back .h just come a little bit closer just the girls over there just come a little bit closer .h and the people with the pram the man and the woman just come a little bit closer if that's OK
158.
159. and over here just a little bit just a few more steps
160.
161. hu:m
162.
163. what I did then everyone is I put on the music .. and I
164.
165. I just got everything ready
166.
167. and
168.
169. just excuse me sir you're walking just a little bit too fa:st ... please slow down .. or you'll be arrested for speeding
170.

171. now .. I'm now going to start my show everyone ... I introduce myself ... my name is Ga:nja
172. ...
173. I am Ganja the Great coming from Hashishtan ... and the way my show is working .h is I do not make fun of the audience but .. I do ask you to be a good audience because if you are a good audience then the show is good .. now right now .. hello ladies hello .. how are you? ... I have some very good new for you .. I'm single
174.
175. I'm single ... and I'm rich
176.
177. OK I think they're lesbiens
178.
179. °doesn't matte(h)r° hehh .hh so when(h)I heh .h so when I do my show if the crowd a good crowd and if the crowd could get and keep good energy then the show is really good so i just demonstrate to everyone quickly .. what a good crowd is this is a good crowd
180.
181. it's a good crowd hu
182.
183. so what I do so everyone if you keep good energy the show is good so let's have a practice everybody just clapping so everyone just clapping ... this is good do we have any cheerers:
184.
185. excellent I go one two three when I go one two three everyone put the clapping and cheering together .. you show me you are going to be a good crowd I will give you a good show now I've done nothing yet .h so just for a few secon:ds .. everyone pretend you are excited .. pretend you are having a good ti:me .h if my girlfriend can do this for me every night ... you people can do it just this once .h so I go one two three everyone good energy and I give you good show le- .. eve'one wanna see good show
186. **audience**
187. yeah
188. **Bruce**
189. good show
190. **audience**
191. yeah
192. **Bruce**
193. balcony good show .. yah .. so ever'one ready .. at o:ne .. two:: .. three:::
194. **audience**
195. [yeah:::::::::::::::::::::::::::::: yeah::::::::::::::::::::
196. **Bruce**
197. [com'on every body one two three::: ... ye- yes .. you are the best crowd I have ever had ... and I have decided that this show is just for you people .. and nobody else it's just for you people and nobody else so excuse me ladies excuse me .h nothing to see here .. keep moving
198.
199. no(h)w if ev'ryone is looking down here ... you'll be seeing Gan:ja .. is having four balls ... my balls are coming from India ... and they are being made from alephant skin .h yes this is correct .. Alephant .. ski:n .. four alephants .. red .. gree:n .. yellow .. blu:e .h only in India can you get ba:lls .. made from the four ski:ns .. of the Alephant heh

thank you for laughing h .hh an(h) a(h) a lot of people asking me if I am juggling balls in my show I do not juggle balls and I explain why .. the reason why Ganja not juggling balls is because four balls is taking one year to learn .. and I am finding .. when I am juggling .. four balls in my show ... and I am catching .. the last one .. behind my back .. I am finding when I do this ..only one person gives a shit ...

audience

[hahh

Bruce

[so I(h) heh so(h) .h so I do not juggle the balls .. ho my god look at this man on safari

audience

hahh

heh h(h) he thinks he's Crocodile Dundee .. he's going into the toilets now to try to catch a snake

so I do not juggle the Ba:lls I juggle the clubs and the reason why Ganja juggling clubs is because people get excited .h by club juggling .. I have just said I am going to juggle the clubs .. and look how .. excited

this two girls ar(h) .h and I have just said I am going to juggle the clubs .h I am going to do something now everybody with the clubs .. that I do not usually do .. I am going to throw o:ne to the ma:n in the nice shi:rt and he:: .. will catch: .. I will throw one to this ma:n .. and he:: .. will catch: .. the ma:n with the ja:cket .. I throw one and he:: .. will catch: all the men with the with the with the clubs it's your job to prove to everyone he:re .h that these clubs are dangerous now gentlemen ... if you look at the man over here with the woman in the red top ... that gi:rl is actually my gi:rlfriend

audience

hahah

Bruce

and tha:t ma::n ... is having an affai::r .. with MY woman heh I want all the men to attack the ma::n

audience

hah

Bruce

hehhh serious head damage ... and we will all share the woman together .. as a reward just a joking yah just a joking .. if the gentlemen are holding the clubs up nice and high so everyone can see the clubs as high as you can into the air .h and as you do this gentlemen .. the hardest part of any show .. is trying to get volunteers .. but today: .. three gentlemen have their hand up

so I pick you three yea(h)h now just quickly find out .. where the gentlemen are coming from .. where you from my friend

audience member

Scotland

Scotland

Bruce

Scotland

audience member

ye

Bruce
S(h) Scotland
audience member
Devon
Bruce
Devon
audience member
Essex
Bruce
Essex .. Scotland you are an international ( ) hu .. you are an international

touch me

touch ho ye:s

now

now Scotlan-(h) Scot-(h) the first time a woman has touch me for so long come back .. I li:ked it

Scotland .. I am going to ask Scotland in a moment .. Scotland is going to stand in the middle .. and the two gentlemen will stand next to Scotland now everyone I cannot do the trick without the help of volunteers .. I am going to ask the gentlemen to come onto the stage in a moment .. and when the gentlemen come onto the stage everyone a big clap so if the three gentlemen come out now .. everyone will give the three gentlemen a big clap together ... as they are coming onto the stage. Scotland everyone is going to stand in the middle .. and the two gentlemen will stand next to scotland .h the gentlemen .. are going to face this way towards me ... the gentlemen are going to hold the clubs up in their left hand .. nice and high .. into the ai:r ... and if you look at the back now in the middle you'll see a lady in a blu:e jacket and a lady in a bla:ck jacket .. I introduce the:se women to everyone .. they are my dancing gi:rls

and very soon they come back in their biki:nis ... and they break dance on their head here and here blow two bubbles each out of their bottom and I catch the .. bubbles on the bed of nails and this is the finale .h I say thank you

an(h)d I take the clu(h)bs .. I say thank you .. Scotland .h I say thank you to you my friend .. hu gentlemen this is what you are going to do .. the gentlemen everybody .. the two gentlemen on the OUTsi:de .. they: are going to: ... grab this two ropes and this gentleman will do the same and they're going to hold the ropes just like so:

this is excellent yes ... what's your name my friend
audience member
(wally)

(wooly)
Bruce
Wally
audience member
(wooly)
Bruce

Wally ... w(h) Willy or Wally?
audience member
(woolly)
Bruce
Willy Willy

OK(h) heh OK(h) .hh OK so this is Wi:lly: and he's from Scotland .. and Willy: what you are going to do: is you're going to stan:d with your legs apa:rt .. and just with two hands Willy .. you are going to rea:ch forward and you are going to gently ho:ld my po::le ... this is EXcellent .. I wasn't sure if he would do it I was thinking .. will=he: .. or won't he ... that is Wi:lly

Will(h)y OK(h) .h Wi:lly: ... do not let go of the pole now we do this together .. what you are going to do Willy: .. is you are going to slide down the pole we do it together like this so Willy will slide down the pole like this ... and then Willy now you go u::p

keep going Willy nobody's watching

an(h)d and I just realise what Willy did now is looking a little bit strange ... but all Willy is doing is he is just warming up the po::le .. for the big trick that's all Willy was doing .h now this is Willy and he's from Scotland and Willy when we are doing this trick in En:gland .. we are having a traDItion .. ho my god look at the man in the red ca:rdigan that's what happens when you bu:y a pair of trou:sers on E:bay
audience
hah
audience member
((shouting))
Bruce
heh heh heh heh .hh and Willy what I am going to do my friend is I take cigarette fire fluid everyone .. and Willy you just relax .. as I put this around Willy like so: .. now Willy in a moment you will be surrounded in a big wall of fire ... and you are looking at me thinking why do we do this here? .. I quickly explain to Willy ... the reason we are doing this here in En:gland .. is because in En:gland .. we are finding this very funny .. when the .. voluntee:r .. is coming from Scotland

yeahh welcome to En:gland .. now Willy do not worry about a thing .. in one thousand years nobody it's true one thousand year old nobody is ever getting hurt

two hundred and seventy six people are dying

but nobody is getting hurt .. and I am very proud to say that I have killed all two hundred and seventy six of those people .. because I am really quite crap. ... Willy .. as I going behind you now please .. for my safety do not move .. and plea:se do not fa:rt .. no:w

or you'll be giving me a hot dog

and now for you:r safety Willy do not fa:rt ... or you'll be roasting your chestnuts ...

ev(h) everybody please giv(h)e please give Willy a big clap for having a good sense of humour

an:d .. I I do lots of jokes but we have to be serious just for a moment .. if Willy does get hurt everybody .. if Willy gets hurt please .. please do the right thing ... lau:gh

walk away like nothing happen:d ... and when the poli:ce arrives ..we tell the poli:ce .. that it was this ma:n in the blue top ... that was the man who did it .. because he tried to touch Willy's bum and Willy didn't respond to it very well ... now juggl(h)e juggle routi:ne .. if you see a trick you like please clap .. if you see a trick you do not like .. please clap. ... these are the two ru:les and there's also lots of joking ..everyone look at the man in the white shi:rt that man is my sto:cker

and he's madly in love with me .. and we went to court last week ... and the court said he had to be twenty five meters away ... and this is only twenty fou:r meters so one meter further back Barry

or I take you back to the court house ... no:w there also going to be a lot of jocking in my juggle routine because I really love comedy ... last year I spent one whole week without laughing it was terrible

so I am never going .. back .. to Germany .. again

heh th(h) this is it everyone juggle routine bed of nails this is live part of the show is everybody ready:?

audience

yeah::

audience balcony

((a couple of individual "yeah"))

Bruce

hehhh heh .hh yes the people on the balcony the drunk people you show them how it's done .. drunk people are you ready:?

audience balcony

yeah:::

this is goo(h)d

audience balcony

yeah

Bruce

and now this section are you ready(h)? .. ok so this is the last part of the show ... and just for the last part ... just for the last part of the show I'm going to ask a favour .. it's only for the last part of the show everyone now who is sitting down .. in five minutes you have to stand up anyway so I'm just going to ask everyone now just to be standing up so everyone has to do this so everyone who is sitting down .h you're going have to stand up anyway in for the last part of the show .h so everyone now .. if you are just standing up that would be brilliant just for the last part of the show everyone here please everyone else is doing it so please be part of everything yeah? .h be part and you get much more out of the show trust me so if everyone here .. is just standing up that would be brilliant yeah .. everyone here .. those who are watching just if you are watching just standing up .h if you are watching .. that would be brilliant .h because what I ask everyone to do just for the last part of the shown now .. I am

going to ask everybody ... on the sides .. just to do me a favour now ..and be part of the show and make a nice wall along here so if everyone does that really quickly .. and put their toes on the rope so n'everyone on this side just the same thing make a wall over here .. and everyone who is at the front .. just come to the step if you're not at the step as close as you can and all the people at the back .. just come as close as you can so you can see better

heh all the people at the back just come as close as you can so you can see better .. and the people of this side .. if I get a nice wall along here the crowd will get much much bigger for me so I'm going to arrange you people .. could you guys just make room for these guys .. an'if you guys put your toes onto the ropes ... oh ye .. ex'lent .. and if that man just stand there ... and the lady down .. and you guys just squeeze in thank you everyone .. cheers yea

hu if the girls just come this way a little bit
jus- ... everyone ... it's hu:

what day is it today?
audience member

Bruce
what day?
audience member

Bruce
Wednesday sorry I have my stop on stop watch ... hum it's Wednesday ... and it is quite ha:rd .. to be doing a show today ... and I I know you think it's over now because the fat lady's singing

ho she stopped hehh .h it's ruined my joke yea .. but the but the show is just .. this is the best part of the show and it really really is hard work being a street performer ... and I think we are having a good time .. and I really try to make people .. happy .. and before I do the funniest part of the show .. I am going to ask everyone here to give me some really good energy because if you give good energy .. you get back a much better show caus' so come on everyone just this is=h .. com'on everyone if you wan=h yea come on everyone yea ... this is good yeah ... this is excellent this is excellent

I show you now how they juggle around the wo:rld and we are going to start of(h) heh heh heh .hh heh .hh I'm going to show you how they are juggling 'round the world now .. and we are going to start off in Japa:n OK so everyone watching very very closely now .. juggling in JAPA::N

aya:::

aya:::: .. ay:::::yA

ya

ya:

ya:: .. that's good that's good is you people clap but only o:ne .. now two now three now fou::r .. but I wan=h .. I want everyone clapping yes? heh look

I(h) I wan(h) I wan'everyone clapping so I must do: .. a better trick .. this is a better trick .. or if you're Bru:ce Lee:: ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya:hh .. that's a better trick yea ... you're a nice crow(h)d now watching this one closely I think you like this one ... jugglin:g in .. Scotlan:d ... oh shit

audience

HAH HAH

heh heh ve(h)ry po(h)pular heh very popular in England .. watching closely no:w .. jugglin:g .. in .. I:relan:d

no:w if anyone is from Irelan:d ... this is just a joking yes ... and if anyone is from Ireland I apologise for this joking ... anyone from Ireland .. I say sorry

and I do it slower

jugglin:g .. on:

drugs

jugglin:g on: .. better drugs

than(h) thank you for laughing ... because my jokes ... do not get better. ... watching a quick double everybody .. twice as hard to be throwing

twice as hard ... to be catching .. this is juggling in America .. because .. now I am thinking I am twice as good as the rest of the wo:rld

juggling in Canada .. because .. they are just doing what the Americans are doin(h)g .. this is the last trick

this is the hardest trick and then after this trick Gan:ja if you have just arrive after this trick Gan:ja .. is going to clim:b up .. onto this bed of nails .. and do the biggest trick in the world on a bed of nails .. this is for you people for being a wonderful crowd .. I am calling this juggling in London for you people .. when I do this everyone give me good energy when I do it I give you big finish yea? .. you're a wonderful audience yeah ... here we go here we go ... juggling .. in London .. I just going to turn this way because of the wind it's a hard trick and I need the wind right behind me .. juggling in London ... because you people

can be doing everything .. the Americans are doing

and better

oh shit ho ho ho hang on hang on hang on .h hang on .h hang on that was .h yes that was a mistake .. I apologise that was .. that was a mistake that was a mistAKE everyone ... just like ... just like my brother

secon(h) second attem(h)pt second attempt I try again second attempt everything the Americans're doing

audience member

((shouting))

Bruce

shut=up

hehHAHAHAHAheh cause you people can be doing everything .. the Americans're doing

and better

YEAHheheheh heh heh .hhh OK(h) biggest trick in the wo:rld on bed of nai:ls .. now every big trick must have a big finale .. for my finale I Ganja .. will flip myself from the top of the bed of nails .. just for you people today ... I Ganja .. I'm going to do: .. triple somersault into the ai::r ... just for you people I Ganja .. will be landing down he:re .. into two mouse traps .. and Ganja will be crushing both big toes into the mousetraps.

audience member

((shouting))

Bruce

if you're wanting more danger London .. say yea:::

audience

yeah:::

Bruce

you bastards heh yeheh hh I'll do it for you

for more danger Ganja will be falling forward .. in these two gu in these two mousetraps Ganja will be crushing both .. hi:s .. nipples

if you're wanting more danger say yea:::h

audience

yeah::

audience member

(beautiful)

audience

hah hah

Bruce

OK(h) heh do(h) do I have to explain the middle mousetr(h)ap .. or do we underst(h)and .. if your wanting more danger London say yea:::

audience

yeah:

Bruce

OK

now(h) just very very quickly .. I will take this one ... if you move to your left my friend ... perfect .. and the man with the nice hat do you mind holding this one .. and everyone give the man a big big clap for helping .. thank you my friend

audience

xxXXX

Bruce

and the man in the gee:n .. do you mind helping and everyone will give the man a big big clap as well

audience

xx

Bruce

thank you .. where you from my friend

audience member
Birmingham
Bruce
you're from BirmingHam .. nice one just to make this easier .. I will just take this off for you .. you're from BirmingHam
audience member
ye
Bruce
nice one .. welcome to London

OK(h) heh hu

°thank you°

BirminHam and
audience member
india
Bruce
India ... brotha
audience member
((foreign sounding))
Bruce
yes I hate Pakistan too
audience
hah hah
Bruce
OK(h) now the gen(h) now the gentlemen holding the ropes I just quickly show the gentlemen how to be holding the ropes .. hum gentlemen two hands over the top like mine .. legs apart just like mine .. it is just like ridding an alephant yes? .. so all the gentlemen just doing this with me: like so

EXcellent

excellent

ehh .. no(h) heh no(h) not making love to the alephant BirminHam

jus(h) just ridding the alephant .. this is going up here like so .. ( ) squeeze up through you like so ... gentlemen do not pull too ha:rd

it's just to keep it nice and even .. hum I need a little person to help .. and I will give actually the little person a genuine five pound note for helping do I .. the little girl over here .. you were the first with you hand up so if you quickly run up here sweety .. and I will get you to help ... and I give you .. five pounds for helping hello

what's your name
audience member
Sophie
Bruce
Sophie .. are you serious? ... that was my name when I was a little girl ... now ... Sophie where you from?
audience member
Ausralia

Bruce
you're from Austra::lia
audience
xxxx
Bruce
where about in Ausra:lia
audience member
Queensland
Bruce
from Quee:nslan
audience
xx
Bruce
did you here them? .. they do not like Australians
audience
hah hah
Bruce
don't take it personally ..Sophie I give you money now .. and when I give you five pounds I want you to be excited yes? .. and you go yea::a you go yea:: and the crowd will go
audience
yeah
Bruce
yea(h)h the cro(h)wd the crowd will go mi::ld yeah .. now you know why you should be excited? ... because it's not much money in England or Austra:lia:: .. but if you take this money to America: .. you can buy a brand new hou:se right no:w ... for five pounds so when I give you the money you go .. you really be excited and I am sure they will give you lots of good energy go for it go really come on everybody give her some good energy ye:s .. and now .. quickly run to the little boy who didn't get money and wave it in his face and say up your bum .. no no joking joking(h) and th(h)en you're Sarah is that right?
audience member
pardon
Bruce + audience member
1: what was your name again Sa[rah
2: [Sophie
Bruce
Sophie sorry Sophie so you stand there Sophie and if you do good job .. five pounds OK? good? give me five

no no give me five pounds back

hu but I give this to you at the end .. that's my prom OK .. now .. hum Jimmy ... Willy ... sorry Willy .. Willy is going to stand he:re .. and facing this way .. and Willy you're going to push me up ok?

nice one

they'll meet you at the pub yeah?

ho Willy legs apart

that's it just just .. you're not quite in position just hands forward ... and leaning forward ... that's it ... head head up
audience
hah hah hah
Bruce

that's it Willy
audience
HAH HAH
Bruce
now Willy
audience member
((shouting))
Bruce
heh .hh Wil(h) Willy is going to take three deep breaths:

and the show will begin ... I love you daddy .. OK so this is ye(h) heh heh heh heh heh Willy: ... I go one two three and a big boost but just before I begin this everyone .. this is the grand finale of the show is everyone ready for grand finale yeah com'on if you're having good time don't let me down

ye

excellent

just everyone in the front row .. everyone who's standing in the front .. could you do me a favour .h and just it's only one step but the toes on the ropes: makes a big difference so it's one step forward .. just everyone in the front .h and then the people can just come in a little bit closer .. and on this side .. if you're not thank you my friend just come right up to the rope .. and the people at the back just squeeze in so more people get to watch the show yeah?

Willy
audience member
( )
Bruce
yeah I give you instructions

Willy I go one two three just India a little bit less ... I go one two three Willy .. and a big boost you ready?

Willy ready?

I'm nearly ready

I just have to quickly .. get the dog shit of my right shoe

and then I am ready

OK here we go Willy .. one ... two:: ... three: ((in an effort)) hu:: perfect ... ho

heh ( ) not perfect

but(h) but he .. ok yeah ... Willy: .. is going to stand in the middle ... and Willy is going to hold the pole two hands this is not a joke everyone

this is a very dangerous trick

my uncle

my uncle trying this trick ... and very very sadly ... he: ... is dying

my brother

trying this trick ... and very very sadly

he is dying

my wife

trying the trick ... and very very sadly ... she is not dying hehhhhhh heh I(h)I am coming from a country everyone .. whe:re we are having arrange marriage .. and this is when your father

audience member

((shouting))

Bruce

he make .. he make you marry the woman

audience member

((shouting))

Bruce

and

and my father

audience member

((shouting))

Bruce

just this section you couldn't do me a favour .. you couldn't just keep it down a little bit because

audience member

((shouting))

Bruce

hu this

audience member

((shouting))

Bruce

what's wrong?

audience member

((shouting))

Bruce

you gotta catch a train

audience member

((shouting))

Bruce

OK just relax

audience

HAH HAH HAH

Bruce

heh heh

audience member

(now)

Bruce

it's OK it's OK .. the man and the w do not let go heh just the man in the white shirt .. could you just come out and in a moment you'll grab the rope just from the man from Birmingham .. OK so just pass it to him

excellent and then the man from Birmingham will grab his bag and no no no no you have to go this way

audience

((cheers)) xxXXXXXxx

Bruce

ho HO my god hehh

audience

HAH HAH HAH

he(h) could the man come back everyday

audience

HAH HAH HAH

and just stay until the end(h) that's funny hu ... this one a little bit less

this one just a little bit more .. nice one ... now everyone just control yourselves because I am now going to take off the top for the big trick ... so all the ladi:es do your best to control yourselves because today .. I am feeling very sexy

audience

hah hah hah

audience member

whoo

audience

hah hah

that was a man

audience

HAH HAH HAH

Bruce

heh it's not safe heh heh heh

now .. a lot of people say to me they say we do not think the nails are sha:rp and we do not think the nails are dangerous .h but the nails are sharp and dangerous .. and I do not get mad .. all I am going to do it to prove to everyone here .. that the nails are sharp and the nails are dangerous. everybody .. please be watching closely .. provin:g .. nai:ls .. dangerous.

ouch

audience

hah hah hah

heh m(h) my name is Gan:ja ... I am Gan:ja the great coming from Hasishta:n.

°ho°

((changing voice)) (u) my name is Bruce everyone

audience

hah hah hah

Bruce

and .. I actually I come from Melbourne Australia

audience member

whoo

Bruce

and ... hum ... I'm gonna .. lye down and juggle the three clubs as I promise .h I just wanna quickly explain why I do this Ganja thing .. hum I know it's quite stupid everyone .h the reason I do it ... is because .. I just try to make my .. show just a little bit different .h to any of the street show you've seen before ..and I hope you did enjoy the show I hope you had fun .h and we've got four .. guys holding ropes .. we've got Willy holding the pole .. and Sophie out here now .. and without the guys out here now th- couldn- the show wouldn't

be possible .. could I ask everyone just quickly just to give all the [guys on the stage now .. a big big clap

audience

[xxXXXXX whoo xxx

Bruce

and then

audience

xxxx

good on you guys

xxxxx

everyo'] ho shit

audience member

((shouting))

heh heh heh heh .hh don't panic everyone I'm gonna say very very quickly but it for me .. (what I sou) what I say now is really really important .. and guys the reason it's important is because .. street theatre is my life ... and it's how I make a leaving .. and I'm very proud of what I do making people happy. ... guys .. at the end no one pays me to be here .. and I will hold a bag .. if you did have fun everyone .. all I'm asking for is to be honest .. if you had fun at the end please .. come forward .. it doesn't matter how much money you've got... just drop it into the bag ... if you don't have money .. come and say thanks .h but at the end if everyone comes forward .. it really does mean .. it's really special for me so .. thanks a lot for watching thanks for being a wonderful crowd .. my name is Bruce I'm from Melbourne Australia .. [have a wonderful day

audience

[xxxXXXX

Bruce

[and all the best to you guys yeah

audience

[XXXXXXXXX

Bruce

thank you] hum Sophie

if you reach down .. sweetie .. and pick up the clubs. if you bring them over to Willy,

that's the man holding the pole ... and Willy is gonna .. PAss=them to me

°good on you buddy° thanks hum Sophie I'd said if you did a good job actually thanks Willy .. I said .. if you did a good job I'd give you .. a reward .. of five pounds ... and .. you did a good job .. and we're both from Australia ... so ... that's

this is the Australian way of giving heh heh heh .h jump .. jump Sophie jump ho: ... just a joke sweetie .. you ready(h) I'm go(h)nna try drop the mo(h)ney .h and Sophie's gonna pick up the money and then she's gonna put the money in her pocket everyone .. and then Sophie's gonna make her way back to where she was standing .. and can I ask everyone please a big favour .. Sophie you've been wonderful [everyone please give Sophie a big clap .. for being

audience

[XXXXXXX

Bruce

677. Sophie
678.
679. °thank you°
680.
681. now .. if you are a tourist and you're wondering how much to give at the end ... tourist the average donation in London
682.
683. is twenty pounds.
684. **audience**
685. HAH HAH
686. **Bruce**
687. if you're American .. it's fifty pounds.
688.
689. God bless America
690. **audience**
691. hah hah
692. **Bruce**
693. guys .. I'm not asking fifty fourty thirty twenty or ten if anyone can afford five pounds ... if you're a family couple tourist five pounds for a good show .. is nothing .. if you don't have five pounds in your pocket .. check the person's pocket next to you
694. **audience**
695. HAH HAH
696. **Bruce**
697. and if they don't have five pounds in there pocket ... then Sophie has fi(h)ve pou(h)nds .hh if you honestly can't afford five pounds two or three pounds gold coins good donation .. ten twenty pence .. crap donation .. guys make at least .. a couple of gold coins and if anyone can afford five pounds .. I'll be very very grateful ... and last night I had a dream
698.
699. and in my dream someone in the audience ... game me .. ten pounds
700.
701. heh but I know that the .. ten pound dream ... will never come true
702. **audience**
703. hah hah
704. **Bruce**
705. I get nervous when I do this and .. Willy ... you should be nervous too
706. **audience**
707. HAH HAH HAH
708. **Bruce**
709. because when I get nervous I sometimes pee myse(h)lf
710. **audience**
711. HAH HAH
712. **Bruce**
713. here we go everyone I'm gonna let go .. and when I let go and do that .. it's when I let go and do that .. if you had a good time and I think we did don't let me down everyone ..when I let go and do that your (cue) everyone just to show me you had a good time .. please don't let me down ... ((in an effort)) when I let go and do that com'on London [com'on everybody
714. **audience**
715. [((cheers and clap))
716. **Bruce**
717. [ho com'on everybody com'on guys
718. **audience**

((cheers and clap))
that's good
audience
((cheers and clap)) XXXX
Bruce
OK one two three

and if I do it everyone twice as much noise as you made then .. it's not for the trick .. it's for the whole show. ... don't let me down on three if you had a good time one ... two:

[((in an effort)) three hu
audience
[((cheers and clap))=
Bruce
((in Ganja's voice) Come on London I can't hear you
audience
=((cheers and clap))=
Bruce
that's good everybody just a few more seconds and .. I'm .. gonna .. finish
with
hu a:
audience
=((cheers and clap))=
Bruce
double com'on everybody
=((cheers and clap))=
I did it
=XXXXXXXXX=
that's good
=XXXXXXXXX
hu-wo

hum Willy ... if you just let go of the pole buddy

and just stand back a few steps because

I'm just gonna quickly everyone thanks
((mic dies))
audience
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxXXX((cheers and clap))XXxxxx